

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Vol. III

APRIL 1879

No. 4

THE INFLUENCE OF NEW YORK ON AMERICAN JURISPRUDENCE

WE cannot feel the full interest of the history of the opening of the new capitol of the State of New York unless we bear in mind the events running through nearly three centuries, which have consecrated the ground on which it stands. There is no place in the Union which is associated with so many varied and far-reaching facts, which have influenced the destinies of this continent, as the city of Albany. For more than two hundred and fifty years the flags of Holland, of Britain, or of the American Union have waved over it. Before our Independence they were hung out upon the battlements of forts, built there to guard against savage foes or to resist the invasions of the armies of France or of Britain during the French or revolutionary wars. From its earliest settlement to the present day, under all governments, what has been done at this point has concerned not alone its citizens, or those of this province or State, but the people of all the colonies which entered into our Union, and in no small degree nearly all sections of this great continent. A glance at its history will show that Albany was in fact the colonial capital; the point at which councils were held, treaties were made, armies were organized. It was the base from which they moved upon hostile regions; it was the point which in all wars our enemies sought to conquer. It was not an accidental thing that the project of a union between the colonies was first put in form in Albany by Benjamin Franklin in 1754. The seeds of that conception were sown many years before, and slowly but surely germinated under the influence of events constantly occurring within the province of New York. Albany has been justly termed the birthplace of the Union; not on account of some accidental gathering, or bold conception of a leading mind. A long series of events had made for many purposes a practical union of the colonies. The citizens who had

lived for half a century under the flag of Holland, had been taught the value of the maxim which bound its provinces into one nationality—“*In unity there is strength.*” It was at this point that the agents of the colonies on the Atlantic coast first learned about the interior of the continent and its systems of lakes and rivers. These taught them that the people who lived upon their banks and courses should be united by some bond of union which would give them not only the benefit of united strength, but freedom of intercourse and benefits of commerce.

When in 1609, Hendrick Hudson, in search of a direct water route from Europe to the eastern shores of Asia, reached the site of Albany, his hopes were blighted on finding that he was ascending a great river and not floating upon an arm of the sea, which would bear him to the Pacific ocean, and crown with success the search to which he had devoted his energies and life. It is a sad thought that in the following year he perished without knowing that he had made a discovery in value far beyond the one which he sought; that what he deemed a failure would give him enduring fame. He did not know that the wind and tides which had swept his ship through the gorge of the highlands had borne it beyond the mountain range, which, for more than a thousand miles, made a barrier between the Atlantic coast and the interior of this continent. He perished, miserably betrayed by his seamen, without the knowledge that the range of hills which he saw from this point, stretching westward through the southern part of this State, was one of the most remarkable watersheds on the face of the earth; that from its northern and southern slopes were poured streams which found outlets in the frozen region of the north or tepid waters of tropical seas. He never knew that the noble stream which gives him enduring fame would be the pathway between the ocean and a system of rivers which are God’s bonds of union, holding together all sections of our country in ways more lasting than covenants or constitutions. He did not in the madness of delirium, which weakened nature often brings to hide the horrors of approaching death, imagine anything so wonderful as the fact that he had discovered a valley through which would pass the greatest movements of the human race which history has recorded. Not one which by the invasions of wild hordes, or the march of armies, carried death and desolation in their tracks, but a movement of civilization upon barbarous wastes, which has filled this great continent with arts and commerce, and prosperous towns and cities. If, at a moment when

crushed hopes, cruel treachery and a terrible death overwhelmed him, he could have had but a glimpse of all that followed his discovery of the grand river flowing by the Capital of our State, how would the gloom of despair have brightened into the joy of glorious triumph!

Commercial enterprise followed close upon the discovery of Hudson. Before the character of our Atlantic coast had been learned the Hollanders sent trading ships to the port of Albany, and in 1614 they made a settlement on an island adjoining the lower part of the city. Fort Orange stood upon the bank of the river. To protect the citizens palisades were put up around the settlement, and guard houses built upon the high ground now crowned by the Capitol. This hill, then flanked by deep ravines on either side, and by a steep bluff in front, overhung the site of the city. The foot of this high cliff closed up State street where St. Peter's Church and the Geological Hall now stand. Upon its top, during more than two centuries, have been put up a succession of rude blockhouses, wooden forts, stone fortress, the old Capitol, the vast structure now brought into use, which ranks among the great buildings of the world. It was not until the beginning of this century that the face of the bluff was graded down so that State street could be made an avenue leading to the western part of the city. In 1614 from Nova Scotia to the Spanish forts in Florida lay a wilderness unbroken save by the feeble and disorganized settlement at Jamestown; and as that was afterwards abandoned, Albany is the oldest town and oldest chartered city in the thirteen original States. At the time of Hudson's discovery a large share of the earth's surface was unknown to civilized nations. It was a period in the history of Holland when, in the words of its New England historian, "in every branch of human industry these republicans took the lead." Its navigators were bold and enterprising. When they decided upon a permanent settlement on this continent they did not, like other people, plant themselves upon the seaboard, but boldly pushed through the highlands to the head of navigation and laid the foundation of a city *west of the Allegheny barriers*. This fact has been potent in its influence on the history of our country. They placed themselves upon the pivotal point, upon which so many of its great events were to turn. The flow of the Hudson would bear them to the Atlantic through the very roots of the Alleghenies. The level valleys of the upper Hudson and the Mohawk opened easy pathways to the St. Lawrence on the north, and to the great lakes and tributaries of the Mississippi on the west. We, who are proud of our English descent, must admit that no other people were so well fitted as the Hollanders

to hold this commanding position, and to defeat the designs of the French upon this continent. Their commercial enterprises in every quarter of the world had taught them how to deal with savage tribes. Here they were brought into contact with the Iroquois. This powerful confederacy held control over the country from the coast to the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, and from north of the great lakes to the present State of North Carolina.

Those who have not studied with care the details of our colonial history can have but a faint idea of the power wielded by this Indian Confederacy, or the terror with which they had filled the minds of other tribes. In his exploration in Virginia, Captain Smith was told by the Indians whom he met in that region, that the Iroquois were so powerful that they waged war with the whole world.

Colden says in his history, "I have been told by old men of New England, who remembered the time when the Mohawks made war on their Indians, that as soon as a single Mohawk was discovered in the country these Indians raised a cry from hill to hill, 'A Mohawk, a Mohawk,' upon which they all fled like sheep before wolves, without attempting to make the least resistance, whatever odds were on their side. All the nations around them have for many years entirely submitted to them, and pay a yearly tribute to them in wampum."

For nearly a hundred years the monarchs of France and Britain sought their alliance, and used every subtlety of diplomacy to gain their good will. It was felt upon both sides that these savages held the balance of power. It was only through them that Great Britain could make a claim to any part of the territory of New York west of Rome, or north of the dividing ridge from which flow the waters into the St. Lawrence and the Hudson.

I wish to bring into view those facts in nature and in the course of events which have given our State its prominence in jurisprudence. From the outset, the government of the territories of New York, under all flags, has excelled in this respect, and has exerted an influence in that greater than it has had in other departments of our social and political systems. The assertion of this fact does not grow out of any undue partiality with regard to my native State. It is upheld by the testimony of those who were not at all times disposed to speak well of those who founded or controlled it. John Adams wrote to Chief-Justice Jay that the first constitution of New York excelled that of all other States. Attorney General Randolph, of Virginia, states that the contests of its colonies with the royal Governors were

conducted with signal ability, and he pronounced their protests and arguments to be the ablest expositions of the rights of popular representatives. The historian, Pitkins, of Connecticut, says that the resolutions of the New York Colonial Assembly were drawn with consummate ability; and "breathed a spirit more bold and decided than of any other colony." When we read the constitutions of the Western States, or the decisions of their courts, or note the Acts of their Legislatures, we see that our judiciary and our civil polity have exerted a marked influence in the newer sections of the Union. I have said that the first colonists were confronted at Albany by the Indian confederacy. We must not fall into the error of thinking that this merely involved a savage warfare, or led to a system of over-reaching ignorant savages after the fashion of our times. The Iroquois were not only the proud and powerful conquerors of a vast territory, but, by the testimony even of their enemies, they were a politic people.

D. La Potière, a Frenchman and an enemy, says in his history of North America: "When we speak of the Five Nations in France they are thought, by a common mistake, to be mere Barbarians, always thirsting for blood; but their characters are very different. They are indeed, the fiercest and most formidable people in North America, and at the same time are as politic and judicious as can well be conceived, and this appears from their management of all affairs which they have not only with the French and English, but likewise with almost all of the Indians of this vast continent."

Colden, alluding to their civil polity, says in 1747: "Each of these nations is an absolute republic by itself, and every castle in each nation is governed, in all public affairs, by its own sachems or old men. The authority of these rulers is gained by and consists wholly in the opinion the rest of the nation have of their integrity and wisdom. Their great men, both sachems and captains, are generally poorer than the common people, and they affect to give away and distribute all the presents or plunder they get in their treaties or in wars, so as to leave nothing to themselves. There is not a man in the members of the Five Nations who has gained his office otherwise than by merit. There is not the least salary, or any sort of profit annexed to any office to tempt the covetous or sordid, but on the contrary, every unworthy action is unavoidably attended with the forfeiture of their commissions; for their authority is only the esteem of the people, and ceases the moment that esteem is lost." To maintain peace with this powerful confederacy, to hold them in alliance against the Crown of

France, demanded prudence, courage and ability of a high order. These were developed to such degree that after the power of the Hollanders was overthrown, and during a century of struggle for supremacy on this continent, the British government mainly relied upon the influence of citizens of Albany to keep the Iroquois from going over to the French. In doing this they had not only to cope with the suspicion of the Indians, with the military power of France, but also with influence of French missionaries, who exhibited the most remarkable religious zeal, self-sacrifice and courage ever displayed on our continent. These did not content themselves with founding colonies in which their religious views should govern, but they boldly pushed their way through the vast wilderness of this continent to unknown savage tribes, with no protection save that which zeal and faith might give them in the eyes of those who looked upon all strangers as those whom they should destroy. Outstripping the march of armies, or the enterprise of trade in its greed for gold, they traversed North America to such extent, that the scenes of their labors were not in many cases reached by our pioneer settlers until the lapse of nearly a century. This zeal, this courage, that never shrunk from martyrdom, was exerted to detach the Iroquois from the British alliance. Many lost their lives in these attempts, suffering cruel torments; one was burned at the stake in the valley of the Mohawk. To contend against their efforts was no mean training in diplomacy and in statesmanship. Mainly through the influence of the citizens of Albany this was done. The Iroquois were taught to look upon the ground on which the new Capitol stands as a place sacred to keeping bright the chains of amity. With that great regard for usage which marks unlettered tribes, they called it the *ancient place of treaties*; and this term, in their minds, meant more than mere antiquity; it meant a higher degree of solemnity, and more lasting obligations in treaties made at Albany than elsewhere.

The diplomatic dealings with these tribes did not relate to the safety of Albany, or to the interest of the province of New York alone, but they concerned the safety and the interest of all the British colonies on this continent. Whoever will study the records of our State from the earliest days, will find that from Nova Scotia to Georgia, nearly one thousand miles, agents and officers of all the colonies resorted to Albany to gain the aid of its citizens in making peace with the Iroquois, or to obtain their help against other Indian tribes in warfare, or to get them to act as the defenders of the feeble settlements when menaced with destruction. When the Governor of Nova Scotia sought to check Indian war

upon its borders, agents were sent to this point. When King Phillip threatened the existence of the Puritans in New England, Massachusetts and Connecticut sent their commissioners here to invoke the aid of the Mohawks. When the Carolinas were reduced to desperate straits by Indian wars, their Governor sought in Albany to persuade the Five Nations to interpose in their behalf. Such events mark almost every year of colonial history, and their mere lists show clearly that this was the political center where consultations were held, and where the common interest and policy were considered. Not only did Indian affairs thus train men in jurisprudence, but the struggle between France and England did much to educate all the colonists. It concerned the greatest of all questions which have been settled on this continent, namely: Should its civilization, customs and laws be those of France or of England? The result for many years was uncertain. The warfare was not merely that of savage tribes, or of rude border men almost as wild, for both of the great powers sent here their disciplined armies, led by men of rank, skill and culture. The contest was not waged here alone, but it was connected with the ambitious designs of Louis the Great for the domination of Europe. His wars, which fill so many pages of history, and so deeply affected the rights and liberties of nations, were watched with interest by the colonists, who were made intelligent with regard to them by the events on their own soil, in which they bore a part. The battles of Marlborough and the victory at Blenheim concerned this continent more than that of Europe; for had the result been reversed, the British would have been confined to the narrow strip of seacoast lying between the Atlantic and the eastern slope of the Alleghenies. In that and all other foreign wars in which our country has been engaged, Albany was the point from which most of the forces were sent out. In the history of our country, from the first invasion of the French in 1665, that part of New York lying along Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson has been the field of strife and blood in fifteen campaigns; an equal number of expeditions have followed the course of the Mohawk. So important was the position of this province during the colonial period, that the Lords of Trade and Plantations urged the Crown, in 1721, to make it the seat of government of a Captain-General, who should have control over all the colonies in matters relating to military affairs and the interests of the King.

The colonial French war involved the combatants in greater cost of blood and money than the revolutionary contest. In many ways it

was more important in its influences. It determined the character of the civilization of this continent, its habits and usages. Its independence of Europe, whatever might be the result, was a matter of time. In 1757 Lord Chatham, determined to expel the French from this continent, placed Lord Amherst at the head of an army of fifty thousand men; a greater force than was employed against us at any time during the Revolutionary war. One division was sent up the valley of the Mohawk from Albany, another by the way of the upper Hudson through Lake Champlain, to Canada, while the British fleet forced its way up the St. Lawrence. This campaign ended in the capture of Quebec, the dramatic deaths of the rival heroes Wolfe and Montcalm, and the extinction of the French power on the eastern side of this continent. The cost of that war makes a large item in the present debt of Great Britain. More than ten millions of dollars were spent in fortifying Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, although the work was never finished.

This great war, from the nature of the struggle and from the contrast between the British and French governments constantly presented to the minds of the colonists, did much to educate the people with regard to public affairs. The center of military operations became the center of public knowledge; for at that day there was but little intercourse save that which grew out of the exigencies of war. All the aspects of the colonial history of New York show that its people were never limited in their views to the interests of their own province, but that the course of events at all times trained them to a knowledge of, and an interest in the affairs of other colonies.

But the lessons of war and diplomacy with foreign enemies fell short of the knowledge the people of this province gained in their contests with the royal Governors. Some of these, like Lord Cornbury, the cousin of Queen Anne; the colonial Governor, Clinton, an Admiral in the British navy and a relative of the Duke of Newcastle, then head of the British administration, were men wanting in capacity and integrity. All their efforts were directed to get money to mend their broken fortunes. New York had no charter which defined the rights of the colony. In their defence they were forced to plant themselves upon principles of jurisprudence, and were thus educated to clear ideas of the rights of governments, and of the governed. Their discussions can be read to-day with profit by those who care to learn where the political wisdom was gained which enabled our fathers to frame the government under which we live. Many years before the crown drove the colonies to united resist-

ance to its action, the delegates to the Colonial Assembly in New York had asserted and maintained the rights for which our fathers battled in the Revolution. The Act declaring what are "*the rights and privileges of their Majesty's subjects inhabiting within their province of New York*," passed in 1691, in the reign of William and Mary, is as clear and firm in tone as those which were asserted nearly one century later at the outbreak of the war for independence.

Besides the facts I have set forth which educated the people of this province with regard to their rights, to the policy of legislation and the duties of the judiciary, there was another which gave breadth and wisdom to our jurisprudence, beyond that exhibited elsewhere. While the Hollanders of that day did not come up to our ideas of toleration, they were in advance of other nations in this respect. They were also free from the prejudices against the people of other countries, which was a marked feature of their times; and particularly with the English. We are apt to charge upon the theology of the Puritans of New England much of the harshness that was due to their nationality. When Theodore Ward, one of the authors of the Code of Liberty of Massachusetts, in his book entitled, "Letters from the Simple Cobbler of Agawam," said that he hated religious toleration which make a hell upon earth, and that he hated to have foreigners come to dwell in the land," it was the Englishman more than the Puritan that spoke.

The same spirit was shown by that race in other colonies. Even in Maryland, where the first Catholic proprietor, by his charter, granted religious freedom to all; when those who differed from his religious views gained power they persecuted those of his creed. Nor was this hostility shown alone towards those differing from them in faith: the English in Carolina for a long time protested against giving Huguenots the rights of citizenship or of holding property. The same spirit involved them in constant wars with the Indian tribes. The rule that English interests and not the rights of others should regulate action, has not lost its power. It involves Great Britain in constant wars in all quarters of our globe, and it convinces the British people that they are wronged and imposed upon by the most remote, feeble and ignorant tribes. If the English instead of the Hollanders had first settled Albany it is doubtful if they would have kept an alliance with the Iroquois. If they had failed to do this they would have lost their claim to the country drained into the St. Lawrence and Mississippi; for their only offset to the French right of discovery of these rivers was the title of the Iroquois to the

regions in dispute. We who are of English descent, and who are proud of our lineage, have reason to rejoice that the Hollanders first occupied this State. Their wide commerce had brought them in contact with all races. Their wealth and power grew out of intercourse with others. They welcomed all incomers to their territory. This drew to this province a greater variety of nationalities than can be found in the histories of the foundations of other States. This made our population cosmopolitan; and beyond all other facts gave to our jurisprudence its superiority. It saved us from provincial prejudices, and from the narrowness engendered in the minds of those who hear but one side of questions, and witness but one phase of teaching. The influence of this fact has not been limited to our State. Its people, holding the gateways into the interior of our continent, have welcomed all classes of immigrants. It is our faith that the same natural features and diversity of lineage and creed that have made New York the Empire State will, on a grander scale, give to our country a higher civilization than the world has yet seen. The history of this State enables us to forecast the future of our union. Its great rivers and lakes and valleys will ever make living channels of commerce. Its varied climate and productions will keep alive active and constant intercourse and exchange among its people. Its differing creeds and its varied lineages will teach a larger liberality and more generous sympathies than exist on smaller theatres with narrower ranges of thought, and more limited views of social or political subjects.

Since the independence of our country, the natural features of New York and the character of its population have been potent, not only in promoting its own growth and greatness, but that of our whole country. Its first constitution showed a greater knowledge of jurisprudence than was exhibited elsewhere. It is a striking, and I think an unparalleled fact in the history of constitutions that upon the Committee of thirteen appointed to draft that instrument, there were men representing no less than six nationalities. This diversity of races which, from the earliest day to the present time, marks the list of those who have filled the office of Judges, Legislators and Governors, has had a great influence in shaping the civil polity of our State.

While the basis of our civilization is English, it has been reinforced and liberalized by other elements. Our great country will not be cut up as Europe is into smaller districts, whose people are made strangers by differences of languages and laws. On our continent,

in the future, with its vast population, all forms of merit will gain higher rewards, and the applause of greater multitudes than elsewhere. Our literature will receive a wider support, and will draw its inspiration from the legends, the histories, the aspirations, not of one, but of many nationalities. The position of New York, with its command of the harbor which first welcomes the incomers from Europe, and of the great pathways through which they seek their homes in the interior, has done much to shape our social organization, and to hold in check the prejudices which sometimes show themselves in the minds of those who are only familiar with social ideas which prevail outside of the great theatres of action.

The most important subjects of our legislation also relate to facts which concern other States as well as our own. These have always kept alive in the minds of our people their relationship to the interests and prosperity of other parts of our Union. We have a striking proof of this in the history of our internal improvements. When we were inferior to Virginia and Massachusetts in numbers, wealth, and power; when the hardy settlers in the then wilderness of Western New York were impoverished because there was no way of reaching markets with their products; when in the days of our poverty we undertook the work of uniting the great lakes with the harbor of New York, which was then deemed, not only in our own country, but in Europe, one of the bold enterprises of the world, it was not urged alone upon the ground of our necessities, or the gain it would bring to ourselves, but rising above local interests, in the preamble of the Act by which this State entered upon this great work, these words were used: "Whereas—navigable communication between Lakes Erie and Champlain and the Atlantic ocean by means of canals connected with the Hudson river will promote agriculture, manufactures and commerce, mitigate the calamities of war and enhance the blessings of peace, consolidate the Union, and advance the prosperity, and elevate the character of the United States; And Whereas, it is the incumbent duty of the people of this State to avail themselves of the means which the Almighty has placed in their power for the production of such signal, extensive and lasting benefits to the human race," etc. These grand, patriotic considerations, and not merely local gain, were urged by leading men as reasons for taking the hazard of an undertaking deemed by many too great for our resources.

Acting upon this wise and enlarged policy of identifying ourselves with the common interest of our Union, although Congress and the

Legislatures of other States refused to aid the project, our State has not sought, like the robbers upon the Rhine, to make its command of the avenues of commerce the means of extorting tribute from those who have used our channels, but it has reduced tolls upon its canals to the lowest point, and has thrown off from our lines of railroads the income which, by charters, were to be paid into the treasury of the State. It cannot be charged against New York that it has ever sought to build up any of its special interests, or to support any of its peculiar industries by taxation levied upon the people of this Union.

It has never faltered in the support of the General Government in its war with foreign enemies, although its territories were most exposed to attack, and most frequently the scenes of battle and of bloodshed. At the outset of the revolution, although New York of all the colonies had been the first, the most clear and persistent in asserting its rights through a long series of years, the British King hoped its people would not be united in resistance to his authority. The patronage of the Crown and the expenditures for armies and free grants of land had built up strong interest in its favor. But its great reliance was upon the exposed condition of the province in the case of war. Its western sections and the valley of the Mohawk were filled with Indian tribes governed by the agents of the King. These were ready to kill without regard to age, sex or condition. Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson made a pathway from Canada into the heart of the province, and British fleets could control the harbor of New York. The patriots of the colony had been taught by the past that when they took up arms they were to suffer the horrors of Indian warfare and the calamities of invading armies. They knew the contest must turn upon the control of their territories, and that war could never cease here until liberty was won or lost. Other sections might at times be invaded, but neither party could withdraw its forces from the banks of the Hudson while the conflict lasted. They did not shrink from perils clearly foreseen. They were ready to encounter savage hordes, disciplined armies, or domestic foes. In no other quarter was the contest so fierce and unrelenting. It did not merely demand the enlistment of men to fight upon the battlefields, but the exposure of their homes and their families to the torch, the tomahawk, and the brutality of hireling soldiers. The massacres at Cherry valley, along the Mohawk, and on the hills which border it, show the terrible sufferings in the homes of those who lived upon that frontier. While New York and New Jersey were the great centers of the revolutionary struggle, there are no shadows upon the patriotism of

either. Adherents to the Crown increased the dangers of the patriots and in some cases caused the destruction of their lives; but this added to the lustre of their services, and gave a higher value to their patriotism by the demands thus made upon their vigilance and energy.

In the war with Great Britain in 1812 New York was ardent in the support of the cause of our country, its rights and its honor. While elsewhere there were murmurs of discontent, and threats of resistance to measures for filling the ranks of our armies, this State was resolute in the support of the policy of our government, although it led to the invasion of its territories by the same pathways which had been traversed by hostile forces on so many occasions. In the sad civil war New York sent to the support of our Government more men in proportion to its population than any of the States bordering on the Atlantic, and in proportion to its enrollment, more than any in the Union. In some instances, single Congressional districts furnished quotas greater than those of other States with more than twice their population and representation.

This is shown by one of the calls made by the Government for soldiers.

The average ratio of enrollment to the male population in Western States was	19 per cent.
In New Jersey,	20 do.
In Pennsylvania,	18 $\frac{1}{4}$ do.
In New England,	17 do.
In State of New York	22 do.
Massachusetts, with ten Congressmen and a population of 1,231,006, had to furnish under a call for 300,000 men	15,126
The first nine Congressional districts of the State of New York, with a population of 1,218,949, were called upon for	25,166
The quota of Vermont and New Hampshire, with a united population of 641,171, and six Representatives in Congress and four Senators, was	7,099
The quota of two Congressional districts in New York, the 4th and 6th, with a population of 283,229, was	7,628

Although these excessive demands were modified, they were still larger than the calls made on other States.

The policy of our State with regard to education has been enlarged and liberal. It has sought by all methods to give knowledge to all classes, and to carry learning in its widest forms into all sections of our State, to enable all, at the least cost, to gain the benefits of higher education; so that those who could not themselves follow all branches of science, or literature, could reap their benefit by association with those who, having had greater advantages, would diffuse them to the mass of community, as electricity passes from one object to another, in ways subtle and yet perfect in results. The early men of our State saw the wants and advantages of our social structure and our equal-intercourse. They felt that the teachings of the pulpit and press, the lecturer's stand and speaker's rostrum, could be brought into action as means of instruction, and they put upon our statute book a grand declaration "that the University of the State of New York is hereby created." These few words meant that our whole territory, not some favored spot, was to be a seat of learning. It taught the grand truth that learning in its best estate is the right of all who seek it, and should be placed within the reach of all.

It will add to the interest with which the new Capitol, just completed, will be viewed, if it shall be looked upon not only with regard to its size, its proportions and adornments; not only as a structure devoted to the legislation of a great State, but also in some degree as a memorial of its past history, and of the events of the place on which it stands, and of that wonderful system of valleys and hills of which it is the center. No man can enter its walls, devoted as they are to the grave and sacred purposes of legislation, without a fervent prayer that those who shall exercise in it the powers of Governors, of Judges and of Lawgivers, may equal the virtues and wisdom displayed by those who have heretofore held the high office of guarding the rights and promoting the welfare of the people of this State. But those who are to make or to administer laws are not to allow their aspirations for usefulness to be limited by the measures of the past. When they have studied its history, when they have seen the height in power to which New York has been lifted, they will be admonished that its motto demands still greater results at their hands, for the word *Excelsior* glitters upon the escutcheon of our State, teaching the duties of higher motives and more lofty patriotism than even those which have marked its past history.

HORATIO SEYMOUR

THE CONVENTION OF SARATOGA

Among the events of the war of Independence, upon which the American cannot look with unmixed satisfaction, is the Convention of Saratoga, for it is not a military, but an ethical question. Did Congress fulfill its part of the agreement? If not, upon what grounds did she break it? Were those grounds sufficient to justify the violation of a solemn compact? Such are the questions which still lie at the threshold of this inquiry, and which Mr. Deane has discussed in the true spirit of historical research.*

Of the enthusiasm and exultation with which the tidings of this convention were received, both by the army and by the country, the histories of the northern campaign are full. A thoroughly trained British army had laid down its arms at the feet of militiamen and volunteers. The danger of losing the great military line of the Hudson was passed. The communications between the Eastern and Middle States were secured. Well might the Americans feel that the rebellion had become a war, and was entitled to all the rights and privileges of civilized warfare. But was King George ready to acknowledge this position of his rebellious subjects? He had put them out of his protection; was he prepared to receive them back again on their own terms? Thus, though the first feeling was that of triumph on the part of the Americans, the second was that of doubt whether all the conditions of the Convention would be fulfilled by England. In all questions connected with the war of the Revolution, it is safe to begin by ascertaining the opinion of Washington; for Washington's opinion was always carefully formed, and may be considered as expressing that of his most trusty counsellors. The second article of the Convention declares that "A free passage be provided to the army, under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to Great Britain, on condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston is assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops whenever General Howe shall so order."

But the presence of the troops in Boston was considered a great hardship. "I must entreat your Excellency's endeavors," writes General Heath, commander of the Eastern Department, to Washington, "to facilitate their removal as soon as possible, as their continuance for any considerable time will greatly distress the inhabitants, both as to provisions and fuel, particularly the latter.

Heath, we see, was thinking of fuel and provisions ; for Washington, there was another question, of far more importance. "I have been duly honored with your favor of the 25th ultimo," wrote Washington, to Heath, "and join your honorable Board most heartily in congratulations on our success in the surrender of General Burgoyne and his army, an event of great importance, and which reflects the highest honor upon our arms. In respect to the embarkation of the prisoners, I take it for granted that the beneficial consequences which the British nation would derive from their arrival in England, will be sufficient motives for General Howe to use every possible exertion to get them away, and that no application for that end will be necessary. For as soon as they arrive, they will enable the Ministry to send an equal number of other troops, from their different garrisons, to join him here, or upon any other service against the American States. I shall be sorry if their remaining should subject you to the inconveniences which you seem to apprehend; and, if they can be accommodated, I think, in point of policy, we should not be anxious for their early departure. As to the transports, if General Howe is in a situation to send them, it is to be presumed that they will be properly appointed with provisions and wood, the terms of Convention not obliging us to furnish their prisoners for a longer time than their continuance in our hands."

It is evident from this and other letters that Washington saw a serious danger in the immediate return of the Convention troops to Great Britain. It is equally evident that, to meet that danger, he thought of no other means than those which are supplied by the Convention itself, and soon a new question arose ; might not the English commanders, in order to secure a prompt return, ask to change the place of embarkation from Boston to Rhode Island or the Sound? "Should such a requisition be made," writes Washington to Heath, "it ought not to be complied with upon any principle whatever. It cannot be asked as a matter of right, because, by the articles, Boston is assigned as the port. It should not be granted as a matter of favor, because the indulgence will be attended with most obvious and capital disadvantages to us. Besides the delay, which will necessarily arise from confining them to Boston, as the place of departure, these transports, in a voyage round at this season, may probably suffer considerable injury, and many of them may be blown as far as the West Indies. These considerations, and others needless to be added, have struck me in so important a point of view, that I have thought it expedient to write to you by express. Lieutenant Vallancey, who came with General Burgoyne's

despatches, left this on his return yesterday morning, and I make no doubt in a little time after his arrival, General Burgoyne will request the port of embarkation to be altered. Independently of the impolicy of granting the requisition, it appears to me that no one has authority to do it but Congress." The requisition was made, and Congress, acting upon the suggestion of Washington, refused it.

Meanwhile the troops had reached Boston, where their reception had been anything but cordial. "I cannot speak with satisfaction," writes Burgoyne to Gates, "upon what has passed, and still passes here. The officers are crowded into the barracks six and seven in a room of about ten feet square, and without distinction of rank. The General officers are not better provided for. I and General Phillips, after being amused with promises of quarters for eight days together, are still in a dirty, small, miserable tavern, lodging in a bed together, and all the gentlemen of our suite lodging upon the floor in a chamber adjacent; a good deal worse than their servants have been used to. The only prospect that remains to me personally, is, that I shall be permitted to occupy a house without a table, chair, or any one article of furniture, for the price of an hundred and fifty pounds sterling, till the first of April, but the same sum is to be paid though I should embark in ten days. While I state to you, sir, this very unexpected treatment, I entirely acquit General Heath and every gentleman of the military department of any inattention to the public faith engaged in the Convention. They do what they can, but while the supreme powers of the State are unable or unwilling to enforce their authority, and the inhabitants want the hospitality, or, indeed, the common civilization to assist us without it, the public faith is broke, and we are the immediate sufferers. I cannot close my letter without expressing the sense I entertain of the honor, the candor, and the politeness of your proceedings in every respect towards the army and myself, and I am with sincere regard, sir, your most obedient, humble servant, J. BURGOYNE."

This is a painful picture, and does but little credit to the civil government. But what struck Congress the most, was the charge that the Convention had been broken. Was this a serious accusation, or an expression hastily dropped from the pen of a man justly irritated? It cannot be denied that Burgoyne had good grounds for his complaint. He had signed the Convention in good faith, and as far as he was concerned, fulfilled its obligations.

Still, it was natural that the suspicions of Congress should be awakened. It was well known that the King was not disposed to look

leniently upon the short-comings of his rebellious subjects. It was altogether probable that, if an occasion of calling any article of the Convention in question should present itself, the English Ministry would not hesitate to put upon it the most favorable interpretation for themselves. Still nothing had been done, thus far, to justify the calling in question of the good faith of Burgoyne.

Another question came to complicate the relations between Congress and the British General. The relation of debtor and creditor. The expense of the conquered army were very great; large sums of money were required to meet them. Wherever paper money went, it carried with it the contamination of its evil spirit. Congress required that Burgoyne should pay in silver and gold, but that its own payments should be made in continental currency, which had already reached a ruinous depreciation. Congress had the power and used it with no scrupulous hand.

The rest of the story may be quickly told. We will not accuse Congress of having been altogether without a pretext, for pretexts are easily found. If Gordon be correct, the Convention troops had behaved very badly in their march through New England. But we must remember the excited state of the public mind, and the wild stories that are exaggerated and believed. It is evident that Congress feared that their captives might be employed against them, and after much discussion, it was resolved that Burgoyne's army, instead of being sent to England, should be sent to the interior of Virginia, to remain there, "till a distinct and explicit satisfaction of the Convention of Saratoga shall be properly notified by the Court of Great Britain."

The question, as has already been hinted, is purely a question of ethics. When suspicion takes the place of facts, men are easily led to accept the most groundless charges, but here the suspicion was not wholly unjustifiable. George the Third still looked upon the colonists as rebels, and was firmly resolved, if he should prove stronger than they, to visit the royal indignation upon them with all its terrors. Men who had fought at Culloden were still living, and the terrors of high treason execution were still fresh in their memories. The German mercenaries, who formed so important a part of the British army, had grown up full of reverence and devotion to their sovereign; never having known rights in their own intercourse with the world, their conceptions were bounded by duty; to hear and to obey, to look upon their sovereigns as irresponsible masters, and their officers as the representatives of those sovereigns, was the creed in which they had grown

up and were ready to die. Thus there was a natural antagonism between them and those whom they had come to bring back to their duty at the point of the bayonet. For them the word rebel was hateful, and the living rebel a monster. Were they bound to keep faith with monsters?

The hatred of the Loyalist for the Whig was equally bitter, and all were either Whigs or Loyalists. In this fertile soil political passions bore an abundant harvest. When Congress went home to take counsel with its constituents, it found in their prejudices a faithful mirror of its own. Can we wonder that it should be guilty of much questionable legislation.

It was under the influence of feelings like these that Congress declared that the Convention had been violated. The Florentine Secretary would have approved their decision; but the Christian statesman of the nineteenth century must reluctantly confess that their deliberate infraction of a solemn compact was unworthy of the representatives of an honorable people.

GEORGE W. GREENE

* See the Report of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, October 22, 1877, by Charles Deane.

THE DIGHTON ROCK INSCRIPTION

AN OPINION OF A DANISH ARCHAEOLOGIST

After the publication of my "Observations on the Dighton Rock Inscription," in this Magazine (February, 1878), I sent special impressions of the article to Mr. J. J. A. Worsaae, Director of the Royal Museum of Northern Antiquities, at Copenhagen, and Vice-President of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. I received from him in reply a letter (dated November 1, 1878) which relates almost exclusively to the Dighton Rock question, and will be duly appreciated by those who are interested in that topic. Indeed, an expression of opinion coming from such weighty authority cannot fail to command the highest consideration.

"CHARLES RAU, ESQ.,

Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

"I fully agree with your observations on the Dighton Rock inscription. But the statements of Dr. Farquharson are incorrect in the highest degree. As Vice-President of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, I am enabled to give you an official account of the whole proceeding concerning the intended removal of Dighton Rock.

"In the year 1861 Mr. Niels Arnzen (a Dane), citizen of Fall River, Massachusetts, presented a deed of transfer of Dighton Rock to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, as a token of his esteem for the Society, and for the editor of 'Antiquitates Americanæ,' Professor C. C. Rafn. This donation was thankfully accepted by the Society. Many members, however, myself among them, had not the slightest confidence in the deciphering of the figures upon the rock, and rejected the idea of their being in any way connected with the old Northmen. Later researches have fully convinced us that the figures are due to the Indians, and *not* to the Northmen.

"In December, 1876, and January, 1877, the above-mentioned Mr. Arnzen wrote to the Society that some Boston gentlemen had recently directed the attention of the people of Boston to the necessity as well as the propriety of the preservation of Dighton Rock, proposing at the same time the erection of some suitable and permanent memorial in honor of the Northmen, as the first European discoverers of the American continent. Mr. Arnzen suggested that the Society should

waive all rights to the Dighton Rock, thus enabling him to get Boston funds to protect it. The idea of the Boston Committee was to have the rock raised and conveyed to some public place in Boston.

"At a meeting of our Society of Northern Antiquaries, held January 30th, 1877, the leading Committee of the Society was authorized to answer :

"That the Society was ready to give up its rights to Dighton Rock, in order to promote its protection and eventual removal by the Boston Committee ; that the Society in general, however, did not approve of monuments being removed from their original places without urgent necessity ; that the Society, if the Boston Committee really insisted upon bringing the Dighton Rock in connection with a monument of the Northmen, regarded it as a duty to declare that the Dighton Rock figures, according to the ideas of all modern Northern Antiquaries, are not the work of the northern discoverers of America, but rather of the Indians ; and, finally, that, as the first discovery of America by the Northmen was, nevertheless, fully established by the accounts of the Sagas, and of the German historian Adam of Bremen, the Society could not but feel gratified by the prospect that a monument was to be erected in Boston in honor of the northern discovery of the great American continent."

"To this resolution of the Society the Boston Committee returned the following answer :

"J. J. A. Worsaae, Esq.,
Vice-President of the Royal Society of
Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

"A communication from the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, dated February 22d, 1877, has been received by the Committee at Boston, appointed for the purpose of erecting a monument to the Scandinavian discoverers of America. The Committee desires to express warmly its satisfaction regarding the acceptance of its suggestion as to the surrender of Dighton Rock to our custody. We shall protect it, and see that it receives no injury, and, perhaps, shall have it placed in our new Art Museum; but our Society is chiefly interested in securing a monument to the Norsemen. It is hoped it may take the form of a statue, for we have no portrait of Leif or any of his successors.

"We desire to erect a statue of a Northman landing in New England, clad in the characteristic shirt of mail and helmet, the legs bound

with thongs. One foot is planted on a rock, while the other leaves the small boat in which he had rowed from his ship. A grape-vine and New England flowers will be indicated; it will be unmistakably a Northman landing in New England, telling at once the whole story. We hope you will approve of our idea as suitable.

"With sentiments of distinguished consideration,

(Signed) T. G. Appleton, Chairman."

"Here you have the facts, which are quite at your disposal. I should like to see them published as a continuation of your paper.

"With my best wishes, believe me always, dear sir,

Most sincerely yours,

J. J. A. WORSAE."

The letter being written in the English language, my task merely consisted in transcribing it.

CHARLES RAU

THE HOWARDS OF MARYLAND

To no Marylander would the allusion in the oft-quoted line, "not all the blood of all the Howards," seem inappropriate if applied to the family of John Eager Howard and his distinguished sons; and its members are fortunate in the transmission of a name as distinctive in this republican country, of honorable and high lineage, as is that of their supposed ancestry, the Norfolk-Howards in the kingdom of Great Britain. Although there are other families of Howards in the State, this one, through its historic, political and social prominence, is more particularly designated "The Howards of Maryland."

The most illustrious member of this well-known family was Colonel John Eager Howard, who rose to distinction in the Revolutionary war. The deaths of the father and grandfather of Colonel Howard appear to have left him to derive his knowledge of family traditions from his mother (who lived to a good age), there remaining little documentary evidence beyond bare records of bequests of property, deeds, marriages, births and deaths. He was himself reserved and uncommunicative. None of his children ever knew him to speak of the origin of his family, or of matters concerning it, to any one. His only surviving child, Sophia C. Read of Baltimore, describes very precisely, however, a painted and framed coat of arms, about two feet square, inscribed "Howard, Earl of Arundel," which hung over the desk in her father's private office at Belvidere. This painting passed into the possession of his son, Mr. James Howard, but unfortunately during his long illness, and consequent removal from the family estates of Cowpens and Cliffholme, this valuable and interesting relic was lost or mislaid. It is described as painted on copper, and had probably descended from that ancestor, "who" (to quote from a short family record found after his death in Colonel Howard's handwriting) "turned out, though very young, to support James at the time of Monmouth's rebellion, and preferred coming to this country rather than return to his father, who was displeased at his leaving home in the manner he did." The head of the Norfolk family at the date of Monmouth's invasion was attainted of treason and deprived of his dukedom; therefore only "Howard, Earl of Arundel." The dukedom was restored to William, his son and successor. Thus the inscription upon the painted coat-of-arms in Colonel Howard's possession curiously tallies with that fact, and appears to settle its age and

date. The same coat-of-arms is on the tombs of their colonial ancestors in the Howard burial ground at "the Forest." The Forest was a large tract of land in Baltimore county, recorded as granted by the Crown to Joshua Howard, the grandfather of Colonel Howard, in 1699. The family are no doubt content to possess an honorable American genealogy of five generations; but the traditional theory of descent from the Norfolk-Howards is based upon this use of the Arundel escutcheon by their colonial ancestors, and by a man so unsparing in contempt for pretence or false statement of any sort as Colonel John Eager Howard, who is described by one of his biographers as "scrupulously just," with a memory "painfully minute, and the most accurate repository of the history of his own time in this or any other country." The possibility of the theory is sustained by a recent declaration of Cardinal Howard and the present Duke of Norfolk, that a branch of their family was "known to be in America," referring to the Maryland Howards.

The military spirit, independence and resolution which inspired their ancestor at an immature age to take arms against Monmouth, and to emigrate to this country, has shown itself in each generation of his descendants, whenever war or other opportunity has given it play, though none have achieved lasting renown but the revolutionary hero, Colonel Howard.

Colonel John Eager Howard, was born June 4th, 1752, at "The Forest," in Baltimore county, Maryland. His father, Cornelius, was the third son of Joshua Howard, whose wife was Miss O'Carroll, whose father emigrated to America from Ireland. To this nationality may be attributed the name "Cornelius." Their two elder sons, Thomas and Francis, seem to have left no descendants. Joshua Howard bequeathed the bulk of his estate to his son Cornelius, who married Ruth Eager, heiress to John Eager, son of George Eager of Maryland. From her descended to her son, John Eager Howard, the estate of Belvidere, a tract of land adjoining the "Town" of Baltimore of three hundred acres, which later formed the beautiful park and grounds around the handsome mansion erected by its owner soon after the war of independence. Not a vestige of the park or mansion remains. They have gone down before the inevitable advance of the rapidly spreading city, a result to which Colonel Howard's munificent gifts of land for public purposes greatly contributed. Thus in his park was raised *the first "Washington monument."*

Bred to no profession, sympathy with the resistance of the Colonies decided John Eager Howard to that of arms. Bodies of militia, called

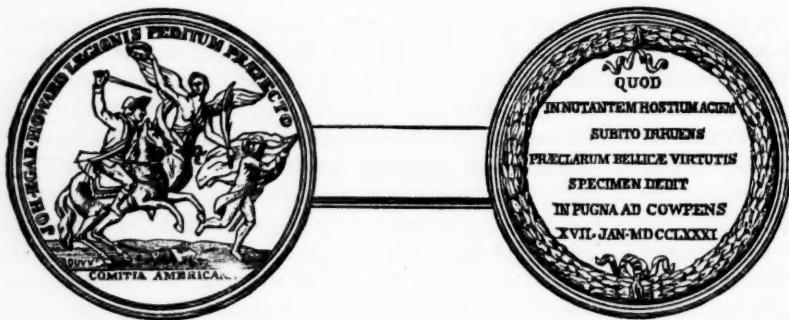
"Flying Camps," were formed in Maryland. Modestly declining a colonelcy, he accepted a captaincy in this corps June 25, 1776, and was present at the battle of White Plains in the autumn of the same year. When Congress in place of this system of defence required each State to furnish regular troops, Captain Howard was given a majority in one of the seven Maryland regiments. In this capacity he was engaged in the battles of Germantown and Monmouth in 1777, and in June, 1779, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fifth Regiment of Maryland Infantry, transferred to the Sixth, and then, after the battle of Hoblick's Hill, given command of the Second.

Colonel Howard's services in the war have been set forth in several memoirs. The earliest appeared in the "National Portrait Gallery;" the latest in Mr. Hanson's "Old Kent of Maryland," a recent publication of merit. Reference is therefore only made to those battles in which, under the command of Generals Greene, Gates and Morgan, in the South, he was conspicuous for conduct and gallantry. In these he rendered such efficient and eminent service that Greene, an exact discriminator of merit, declared him to have conferred great obligations on himself, and greater on the public. "He deserves," said Greene, "a statue of gold, no less than Roman or Grecian heroes." "At the battle of Cowpens Colonel Howard seized the critical moment, and turned the fortunes of the day," writes Lee, "and at all times and on all occasions was eminently useful."

Of intrepid, personal courage, he was distinguished for pushing his troops into close fighting with fixed bayonets, a weapon rarely crossed in battle even by veterans. This manner of fighting was first inaugurated by Colonel Howard during the battle of Cowpens. In the heat of the struggle an order for a flank movement was mistaken by Colonel Howard's men for an order to retreat, and they fell back. Upon this General Morgan rode up, exclaiming that "the day was lost!" "Look at that line," replied Howard; "men who can retreat in such order are not beaten." Morgan ordered him to take a position which he pointed out, and make a stand; but halting his men, and facing them about, Howard poured in a sudden fire upon the advancing enemy, and then, on his own responsibility, dashed on them with the bayonet. The result was a brilliant victory, while the method of the attack reversed the opinion, which even Washington had held, that American troops could not cope successfully with tried British veterans in the use of the bayonet. Afterwards the Maryland line was put to this service so continually as almost to destroy that brave corps. At Cowpens Howard

held at one time in his hands the swords of seven officers, surrendered to him personally; and saved the life of the British General O'Hara, who clung to his stirrup, claiming quarter. His gallantry was rewarded by Congress with a medal.¹ In the succeeding battle of Eutaw he was so seriously wounded as to impair his health later in life.

Five years after the close of the war Colonel Howard became Governor of Maryland for three terms, and gave his influence to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. In 1796 he first entered the Senate of the United States, having previously declined the appointment of Major-General by the State.



Washington offered him a seat in his Cabinet, and in several letters deplored his refusal to accept the post as a loss to himself and the public. After requesting the interposition of a friend, and finding all efforts vain, Washington finally wrote: "The reasons you have assigned for not doing so carry conviction along with them, and *must, however reluctantly, be submitted to.*" To persuade Colonel Howard against his own judgment or will, would have been difficult indeed; a characteristic equally developed in his descendants. But it was said of him that "such was his integrity, wisdom and justice, they gave his opinions an almost absolute sway." In 1798 he consented to accept from General Washington the rank of General, should the threatened war with France be declared, a calamity which was happily averted.

Colonel Howard married one of the beautiful daughters of Benjamin Chew of Clifden, Germantown, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. These brilliant women were reigning Tory belles in Philadelphia during its occupation by the British. When the war closed Mrs. Chew attended the ball given to welcome General Washington to Philadel-

phia, and described to her daughter Margaret, who, from "loyalty," had refused to accompany her, a wounded officer, who stood aloof from the assemblage, Colonel Howard of Maryland, as "the only one who interested her." Miss Chew, curious to see this young hero, went to the next ball herself, and lost her heart. The result was their betrothal, and marriage soon after. Colonel Howard's first view of Clifden, the home of his bride, had been during the battle of Germantown, when "Chew's House," fortified by the British, welcomed the "Maryland Line" with a shower of balls.

Miss Chew was the lady for whom Captain André rode in the "Tourney" of "the Mischianza" Fête. After her marriage, when on one occasion she and her sisters were speaking in eloquent terms of André's attractions and accomplishments, her husband silenced them with the stern rebuke, that he was only "a damned spy!"

The union seems to have been happy beyond the ordinary lot of humanity. Mrs. Howard's correspondence presents the most natural pictures of enviable domestic harmony and love. She writes of her stern husband as her "Lord and slave;" her "good squire." Her eldest son, John (whose death she did not long survive), is especially her "beloved son;" the others, "dear urchins," or "the young flock." Her sisters (one of whom was married to the only son of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and lived near her) are spoken of in every variety of affectionate expressions. These are the charming letters of a cultivated woman of lively wit, endowed with warm affections and superior wisdom; overflowing with sparkling happiness, and blessed with a perfect life. In one she describes what she calls "a grand jumble" at Belvidere, so often the scene of brilliant assemblies. Carriages now roll over the very site of the hospitable mansion, where then carriages were "moored in the slough" on their return to town after the ball.

Colonel Howard's reticence was so extreme that even at this distance of time it seems scarcely right to look behind the curtain of his domestic life, though it be but to reveal his virtues and worth. This account may fitly close with the remarks of The Baltimore Gazette, on the occasion of his death, October 12, 1827: "A fortune, which might have been deemed princely, was not used to increase the lustre of his station, or the weight of his authority. Amidst the frantic agitations of party, he, almost alone of his generation, won the universal confidence. The most inveterate popular prejudices seemed to yield to the affectionate conviction of his impregnable honesty, and that personal independence, which neither party zeal could warp from its

course, nor passion subvert, nor faction alarm: his fellow-citizens turned to him as to a fountain of undefiled patriotism. The example of such a citizen is a legacy to his country, of more worth than the precepts of an age."

The main building of the Belvidere mansion contained two small rooms, one on each side of the hall; three large drawing-rooms on the rear, the central an octagon, with windows opening upon a noble view of town and country, the Patapsco river and Chesapeake Bay. The stairway, imported from England, was partly of iron, the woodwork of mahogany. Its broad, shallow steps wound in a semicircle above the entrance, without apparent support, to a balcony above the drawing-room doors. It was built in the thick walls, which were substantial enough to have stood for centuries had time and not progress besieged them. To "Howard's Park" Baltimore's citizens resorted for parades, lover's walks, and even duels. In one of these encounters a gentleman was shot near the present site of Mount Vernon Place.

Colonel Howard's eldest brother, George, married, but left no descendants. His four other brothers died bachelors. Two of his sisters were married. Ruth to Charles Elder of Maryland; Violetta to Joseph, Lord West and Earl de la Warr, though he is written down very properly in the Howard family record as plain "Joseph West." From one of this gentleman's family the State of Delaware took its name.

Two of the bachelor sons, James and Cornelius, lived to see their elder brother, John Eager Howard, famous. James died a martyr to gout; but Cornelius lived, an eccentric recluse, at his home on his portion of "The Forest" to an advanced age, dying in 1844. Law-suits were almost unknown in the county while he lived to arbitrate disputes. Among many anecdotes illustrating his high reputation for probity and truth, it is related of a jury, reproved by the Judge for a verdict contrary to the weight of evidence, that its foreman replied: "Well, yes, your honor! but if all Baltimore county swears one thing, and Mr. Cornelius Howard the other, no jury in this State will give a verdict against him." Singularly enough, though too young to take part in the struggle, he did not approve of the Revolution, and sturdily refused to make oath of allegiance to the United States, paying double taxes for his recusancy.

Colonel Howard had two daughters, Juliana and Sophia; and six sons, John Eager, George, Benjamin Chew, William, James and Charles. In the war of 1812 the four eldest took up arms in defence of Baltimore,

and were in the battle of North Point, which resulted favorably to the city. When the proposal was made to avert the destruction of Baltimore by capitulation, the old hero, who had organized its defence, said: "I have four sons in the field, and as much property at stake as any one, but sooner would I see my sons weltering in their blood, and my property reduced to ashes, than so far disgrace the country."

His daughter Juliana died in the second year of her marriage with John McHenry, a gentleman of large fortune, the son of Secretary McHenry of Washington's Cabinet (in whose honor Fort McHenry was named). Mr. McHenry did not long survive his wife. She left one son, James Howard McHenry, who married Miss Cary, a lady in whose veins flows the best blood of Virginia and Maryland. Mr. McHenry's fine estate of Sudbrook, near Baltimore, contains a part of "The Forest," inherited from his grandfather's grandfather, although the mansion is modern. The owner has assembled within it many curious pieces of antique furniture and rare objects of art.

Sophia, the second daughter of Colonel Howard, married Mr. William George Read, whose sister (described by a contemporary as a "Juno" in beauty) was married to her eldest brother John. They were the son and daughter of General Read of South Carolina. Mrs. Read has been many years a widow. Though now 79 years of age, she retains her vigor of mind and body, and has met the trials and bereavements of a long life with a brave fortitude worthy of her noble sire. Mr. Read was a distinguished scholar (graduating at the head of his class at Harvard University), as was also his only son, William George Read, Jr., lately deceased.

Of the sons of Colonel Howard, John Eager Howard died early, leaving one son, John Eager Howard, who distinguished himself in the Mexican war by conspicuous gallantry, being the first on the walls at the storming of Chepultepec. Major Howard bid fair to rival his grandfather as a soldier; but the war ended abruptly, and he returned home to die a lingering and unhappy death from softening of the brain. He never married.

George and James married daughters of General Charles Ridgely of Hampton, a fine entailed estate near Baltimore. Margaret Howard, daughter of James, was afterwards married to her cousin, a grandson of General Ridgely and heir to Hampton, where she now resides, a widow. Four of the sons of James Howard (three by his second marriage with Miss Ross) fought in the Confederate army; one was severely wounded.

George was elected Governor of Maryland. Howard County was named in his honor. His friend, the great Henry Clay, pronounced him to have as brilliant a mind as he ever encountered. His wit was of the readiest; his humor unflagging; his puns even, for their easy originality, were forgiven him. A friend read from a newspaper that a man had slipped from a housetop, and was killed. "Served him right," said the Governor, "for eavesdropping."

Governor Howard's eldest son died unmarried. His second son, Charles Ridgely Howard, was a man whose bravery had no parallel, being utterly reckless of results. He obtained of General Jackson, on his personal application, when only twelve years old, an appointment in the United States Navy, and so distinguished himself in the Florida war (where he was detailed under David Porter for land service) that he was made Brevet Captain, and given command of a sloop-of-war when only nineteen years of age. His turbulent spirit led him into many pranks, escapades and scrapes when on land, deprived of the vent of war duty or sea life. Among the anecdotes told of him is one of his successfully performing the difficult feat of driving sixteen horses, attached to a sleigh, up and down the crowded Broadway of New York; another of his dropping from a third-story window of Gadsby's Hotel, in Washington, upon the pavement below, without other result than the collecting of an astonished crowd to witness his walking away unhurt. Active as a squirrel and as fearless in climbing, he was once present in the Washington Navy Yard when a fellow midshipman was ordered up the flagstaff to unfurl the flag. His senior by four years, this midshipman had made himself offensive to young Howard by his overbearing, bullying nature. Daily encounters passed between them in which Howard was always mastered; the superior officers permitting no one to interfere, saying, "the plucky little rascal may as well learn the necessity of submitting to superior force." Now the youth saw his enemy in a position where strength and size would not avail against courage. Quick as thought he dashed up the tall flagstaff after him. Threatening to seize him and jump off the boy ordered him down; the bully obeyed, leaving his victor to unfurl the flag amid the shouts of the applauding spectators, and to gain ever afterward immunity from affront.

During his courtship of the young girl who became his wife he found that the noted Baltimore roughs permitted none of the gentlemen who visited her and her sister to pass their headquarters, "The New Market

Engine House," after nightfall. This he could not submit to, as did his more cautious companions. Regularly every evening he fought his way through, appearing before his fiancée with blacked eyes and bruised, swollen fists, till at last the "roughs" themselves, when Howard presented himself as usual singly to fight his way through the two or three dozen of them who opposed his passage, set up a shout of welcome, opened to right and left for him to pass through in triumph, gaily bidding him "Good night! Captain!" which he returned with hearty good will.

Finally, for some infringement of the rules of the post at a West Point ball, he was court-martialed and dismissed from the Navy, though unjustly, as he was restored by President Tyler, with back pay and rank. Unfortunately he conceived the freak of visiting the President on a Levee-day in an equipage thought disrespectful, and the order for his reinstatement was revoked. Finding shore life insupportable, he obtained the command of a Pacific mail steamship, and died of yellow fever at Panama. His brother officers erected a monument to his memory in the beautiful graveyard in that port. He left four daughters and one son, James Morris Howard, who, by the law of primogeniture, would have been the only one of the family to receive the Cincinnati badge at the death of Major John Eager Howard, had not the great merits of his venerable grand-uncle, General B. C. Howard, and the desire to enlarge the Society, induced the Society to change that single aristocratic feature of their organization, to admit of its being given to any distinguished descendants of Revolutionary officers the Society should elect to the honor.

General Benjamin Chew Howard (son of Colonel Howard) was greatly beloved by his family and friends, and highly respected by the community. He was graduated from Princeton College in 1809, and took early part in political life. He represented Maryland in Congress from 1829 to 1833, and again from 1835 to 1839. As Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations he was author of the remarkably able report on the North Eastern Boundary Question, which has been frequently ascribed to Cushing and Winthrop. President Van Buren offered him the Mission to Russia, which he declined. In 1840 he was chosen State Senator. In 1848 he was thought the most available candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the Democratic ticket. He long held a position in the United States Senate, and afterwards in the United States Supreme Court. In 1860 he was one of the Washington Peace Commissioners

who sought to avoid the impending Civil War. He died in 1872 at the advanced age of eighty-one years, universally esteemed and regretted even by those who had not shared his opinions. A few words from the pen of a political adversary, testify to the general esteem for his character: "The name of Howard has always been especially dear to the people of Maryland, and perhaps more thoroughly identified with its honor and chivalry than any other. They have always been leaders in the councils of the nation as well as on its battle-fields, and have blended at the same time the highest social amenities and culture with strong character and intellectual endowments." He accepted a nomination for Governor, which he had before declined, from the party adverse to the authorities at the breaking out of the civil war, knowing that he ran great risk of arrest, and had no chance of being elected. His widow retains possession of his country-seat, "Roslyn" (adjoining "Sudbrook"), which is also part of "The Forest" still in the family since 1699. Mrs. Benjamin Chew Howard was Miss Gilmor of Baltimore, and is a lady of superior intellect. A young grandson represents General Howard's name.

William Howard married Rebecca Key, niece to Francis Key. He alone of Colonel Howard's sons developed a taste for science, travel and art. He is said to have been one of the earliest to reach the summit of Mount Blanc. Several buildings in the city of Baltimore are evidences of his taste. His only son, William Key Howard, entered the Confederate army.

Charles, youngest son of Colonel Howard, was as distinguished for courage and integrity as his brothers. For denying the right of the military to deprive the city and State officials of their authority, and for refusing to resign their positions as such, when the late war broke out, he and his eldest son, Frank Key Howard, were imprisoned at Forts Lafayette and Warren, in company with S. Teackle Wallis and other distinguished Baltimoreans. He was at one time Judge of the Orphans' Court. His five younger sons served in the Confederate army with distinction. James Howard, as Colonel, commanded two battalions in defense of Richmond, and Captain McHenry Howard held several positions of high trust and responsibility; another, a Surgeon, Dr. Edward Lloyd Howard, was also conspicuous for self-devotion on the Yellow Fever Commission last summer. Mrs. Charles Howard was a daughter of Francis Scott Key, author of the Star Spangled Banner, composed while a prisoner on a British

man-of-war, moored opposite Fort McHenry, during the battle of North Point. In conclusion, it may be said that few names in our land bear a more honorable record than that of "The Howards of Maryland."

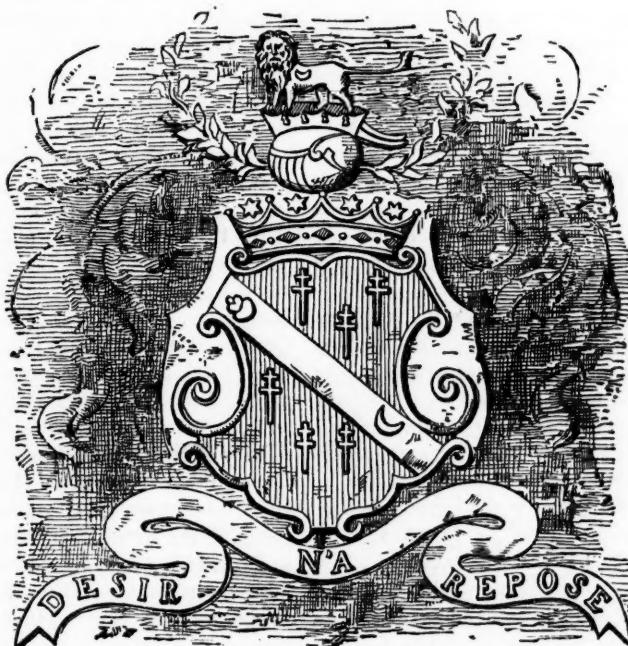
ELIZABETH READ

¹ Cornelius Howard died June 14, 1777, and is buried in the family burying ground, at the "Old Place," Baltimore County. The escutcheon given at the foot of this article is from his tomb.

² This medal, voted by Congress March 9, 1781, was of silver, and is thus described by Mr. Loubat in his recent superb work, *The Medallic History of the United States of America*:

"JON (*johannis*) EGER (*sic*) HOWARD LEGIONIS PEDITUM PRAEFECTO COMITIA AMERICANA (*The American Congress to John Eager Howard, Commander of a regiment of infantry*). Lieutenant-Colonel Howard on horseback is in pursuit of a foot-soldier of the enemy, who is carrying away a standard. A winged Victory hovers over him, holding in her right hand a crown of laurel, and in her left a palm branch. (DUVIV) Duvivier).

Within a crown of laurel: QUOD IN NUTANTEM HOSTIUM ACTEM SUBITO IRRUENS PRAECLARUM BELLICAE VIRTUTIS SPECIMEN DEDIT IN PUGNA AD COWPENS XVII. JAN. (*Januarii*) MDCCCLXXXI. (*Because by rushing suddenly on the wavering lines of the enemy, he gave a brilliant example of martial courage at the battle of the Cowpens, January 17, 1781.*")



THE PAPERS OF FATHER
BRUYAS

JESUIT MISSIONARY TO CANADA

1689-90

Communicated by B. Fernow, late Keeper of
the Archives of the State of New York

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—The news of the bloodless revolution in England, which placed William of Orange upon the throne of England, found the province of New York in charge of Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson; Sir Edmond Andros, then just appointed Captain-General of New England and New York, being absent in Boston. They came first as an unauthenticated rumor, but created, nevertheless, great sensation, especially among the Dutch inhabitants, who perhaps saw in this event a chance of becoming again a part of the United Netherlands. Other rumors, offsprings of Anti-Stuartism and Anti-Papery, wrought the minds of the population up to fever heat, and made it comparatively easy for Jacob Leisler, a prosperous merchant and senior captain of the militia, to get control of the government of the province.

Leisler, who had come to New York as a soldier of the West-India Company in 1660, was a coarse, vulgar man, whose head was quickly turned by the honors which subservient creatures heaped upon him, and he soon began to prosecute all who opposed him or whom he suspected, not even sparing members of his family. Thus he found also an excuse to proceed against Robert Livingston, a prominent Albanian, who being a Scotchman and a friend of the Jesuit missionaries among the Mo-

hawks and Oneidas, was easily accused of leaning towards the cause of the de-throned Stuart. Under the plea that he had not accounted for the revenues of the King in Albany during twelve months, his house was searched for the accounts. Livingston, however, had fled and taken all his papers with him, so that the Commissaries found only a chest containing papers, etc., of the Jesuit Vaillant. They got several people to swear to Livingston having made use of language derogatory to King William, and in sending these affidavits to Leisler, they write, "We send your Honor herewith six affidavits against the aforesaid Livingston regarding his Majesty, and with them goes a package of papers, which are found in an old chest with some jewels, formerly the property of the Jesuit Vaillant, from Canada. We have inventoried for his Majesty's behalf."

François Vaillant de Gueslis had joined the Society of Jesus at Quebec, in 1675, and four years later he took Pere Bruyas' place as missionary at Tionnontoquen (Fort Hunter). According to a letter from the Marquis de Denonville, Governor of Canada, to Governor Dongan (New York Col. Doc. Vol. III, p. 518), Vaillant remained among the Mohawks until about 1683, and in 1688 was sent by Denonville to Albany to treat with Governor Dongan. During this visit to Albany he probably left at Livingston's house the chest mentioned in the letters from the Commissaries, which originally seems to have been the property of Père Bruyas, his predecessor at Fort Hunter. The papers criticised and enumerated in the

following translation are, without doubt, the writings of Père Bruyas, who was the best philologist of the Mohawk language, and compiled many works in that tongue and on its construction. Hennepin journeyed from Fort Frontenac to the Mohawk valley to examine his Dictionary, and Cotton Mather had a copy of his Catechism. The dictionary and catechism are still extant (N. Y. Col. Doc. III, p. 719, note).

The criticisms given herewith are dated "Boston, 29th April, 1690." The correspondence of Leisler with the Governor of Boston fails to show that the papers were sent there, and it remains an open question how the papers came there, what became of them afterwards, and who wrote the "Inventory?"

B. FERNOW.

INVENTORY OF CERTAIN PAPERS FOUND
IN A PRIVATE HOUSE (LIVINGSTON'S)
NEAR ALBANY DURING THE LATE
TROUBLES.¹

As not everybody understands French I am very glad that these papers have been brought to me for examination, for the majority is in that language; I hope that I shall satisfy those who have had the curiosity to know what they contained. They are the writings of a Jesuit missionary for the conversion of the Iroquois; his name is Father Bruyas,² as is shown by several directions of letters, addressed to him and used by him to cover his manuscripts. He mentioned, also, several other Fathers of the Society. We see, therefore, that the good Fathers are to be found everywhere, and that if they have had no hand in what has taken place at Albany

lately, it is any way certain that they have been in that neighborhood a long time. However, I leave it to the reader to think of it what he pleases, and to make such remarks, in regard to the details which I shall give, as he thinks fit; after that I ask permission to make remarks of my own.

After having examined all these papers, I have found all the following pieces:

1. The form of the consecration of the Host with the sacramental words surmounted by a cross. This is the only printed thing found among the papers.

There is further a writing-book marked with a tree. It is a catechism, in the Mahingan tongue and in Latin, with Popish prayers, as the Pater, Ave Maria, Credo, etc. The whole directed to Father Bruyas at Agnié. Then six writing-books, which the writer has himself marked with numbers, and which contain a little Iroquois dictionary in alphabetical order. They are covered by several letters written to the Rev. Father Bruyas.

There are seven other writing books, and several loose leaves of a grammar to learn the Iroquois language, the Huron, Onneista, etc. The writer adds remarks to teach these languages, the tenses, conjugations, pronouciations, etc. There is also a table of a grammar (*une table de grammaire*) on a sheet of paper, containing certain paradigms of Huron verbs.

Also, an invoice directed to Rev. Father Thierry Bechefer, Jesuit at Quebec, where, in one list, hosties of all sizes, small crucifixes are marked down together with paper bags, raisins, prunes,

tobacco and rosaries, all to be used in making treaties with the Indians.

There are further, two writing-books with discourses in Iroquois, interlined with Latin sentences, which latter proved the one to be an instruction of the savage, who was to be converted, and the other a treatise on the manner of making treaties with them by giving them presents.

There is another cahier, containing 100 cases of conscience with their answers in Latin, for the Iroquois missionary, and carried into practice after having been confirmed by the Rev. Fathers, the Jesuits of Quebec. Finally, there is a Catechism written in two books in the language of the Oneidas and Latin, which has 24 chapters.

This is the inventory of all the papers which have been handed to me. My remarks will be 1st, on the letters; 2d, who are the Jesuit Fathers mentioned in these writings; 3d, on the remarkable doctrines which they teach the Iroquois. After having examined these points, I believe to have acquitted myself of the task imposed upon me.

I. Father Bruyas used several letters as covers for his manuscript writing-books and the Indian dictionary. I believe he did so to preserve them with so much more care and to prevent their loss, which would indeed have been great. A letter written by the Jesuit Stechon (Hechon?), of Quebec, covers the first cahier, and informs P. Bruyas concerning two of his Iroquois women, who had been left as hostages at Quebec, and whom P. Bruyas had recommended to him; he says that both had died, one after *having received the last*

ointment; but in regard to the other, he gives a strange detail of her death, saying that she had died from small-pox, which had so taken hold of her that nobody could remain in her chamber, for she emitted a fearful stench. He then sends P. Bruyas a handsome necklace, not to dry the tears of their parents (according to heathenish custom), but to assure them that they had died as Christians, and to admonish them to imitate their daughters by embracing their faith, so that they might see them again in heaven; he desires, also, that P. Bruyas should make the two deceased girls speak to their parents, and ask them to believe, that they might share in their happiness.

Are these not, indeed, wonderful examples to follow, and do you not believe that these persons are in Heaven; look especially at the manner in which the second died. And yet he wishes to make the parents believe that their dead daughters admonish them to embrace the faith. Who does not see that the last spark of piety, even of Christianity, must be extinguished to make use of such means for the conversion of the heathens. The remainder of the letter concerns propositions formerly made to the French of Canada, which are of no importance here.

The second letter, which I found covering the second cahier, is written from Lyons, and contains only the badly expressed compliments of a young Jesuit, Louis Montilesi, who tells of a murder committed near Geneva, the victim of which was a Jesuit, invested with the benefits of a secular priest. According to their manner, they did not fail to accuse the Huguenots, while it looks

much more as if their Popish parishioners had done it, who hated them mortally and desired to shake off the yoke of their tyranny.

The third letter covers the fourth cahier, and is written by P. Bruyas himself. It contains only private family-matters, with which we have nothing to do here. The fifth cahier is covered by a letter from P. Jean Etienne Grolét, a Jesuite, who invites him to come to France and induce several Rev. Fathers to come to Canada. It adds many compliments and flatteries.

Around the sixth cahier I found a letter from a nun in the Convent of the Hospitalers, at Quebec, who offers her services to the Rev. P. Bruyas, and sends him an image of the great *St. Francois Xavier, his patron*. She says that she will also send him lancets, if he needs them, etc. These good ladies are full of charity, and their name suits them exactly. This one is called Catherine Marie de Ste. Agn[—]

There is another letter, directed to the same P. Bruyas, which covers the Oneida grammar. It is also written by a nun of the Ursulines, of Quebec, and is very polite, for I see, that in offering her services to P. Bruyas, she makes no restrictions whatever; after having assured him that their entire little community was at his service, as well as she herself, she adds, that if his Reverence thinks them capable to serve him, in whatever service it may be, they are ready to do it with plaisir, etc. Nothing could be said against this kind of offers, if it was not well known, that the Ursulines of Canada recruite themselves mostly from those good penitents who go to be

Magdalens in the convents, after having enjoyed all the pleasures of the world.

I must not forget to mention here the Latin manuscript, which covers the 3d cahier of the Indian dictionary. It is a declaration demanded by Père Millet, General of the Jesuits in New France, of P. Bruyas to make him Prefect of the Order. It contains five articles; in the first he promises never to do anything to change one way or the other the rules regarding the vow of poverty, which he has made, unless the exigency of the case might require him to relax a little. He protests in the second that he will never have any direct or indirect pretensions to any prelacy or dignity outside of the Society. In the third he promises never to consent to being elected, unless compelled by him, who is authorized to command him, under the penalty of a mortal sin. If he knows any body, who has such pretensions, he promises, in article four, to inform the Society of it; and in the last article he promises, that if he should happen to be promoted to any dignity or prelacy, he will always recognize the General of the Society as his superior, and never refuse to obey his advice, or that of any one whom he may appoint in his place, nor take exceptions to them, if he judges them to be better than those which he may have received from the Holy Ghost (*ceux qu'il aura dans l' Esprit*); the whole according to the institutions of the Order.

Do you not admire the Jesuitical spirit expressed here? Look how he advances gradually. At first he will not violate the vow of poverty, that is be secularized, then he will not aspire

to any prelacy, next he will not accept, if elected, unless ordered to do so by his Provincial or his confessor. Finally, if he should accept it, he promises always to obey willingly the advice of the General of the Society, if it suits him. Look upon the turns which these people make, and see whether you will find the least sign of sincerity. He promises and does not promise, he protests that he will never aspire to be a prelate, and then he says, in case he should be, he will always recognize the authority of his Superior. It seems as if this kind of declaration was made expressly to inform the world that they can be admitted to the prelacy and to ecclesiastic dignities.

II. It is proper that I should now inform you of the names of the Jesuits mentioned in these writings.

Father Bruyas is one of the most distinguished members; he is Père Proféz, Chief of Missions, a great converter of the Iroquois, Hurons, Oneidas, etc.; so that another Jesuit dares to speak of his endeavors as "Apostolic labors." Judge by the story of the two Iroquois girls, whether he does not impart great honor to the Apostles of Jesus Christ.

The Reverend P. Frémint⁸ is a celebrated casuist, so are P. Pierron, † † missionary among the Mohawks during Governors Nicolls' and Lovelace's time. P. Milet († † †) Pierre Milet arrived in Canada in 1667, missionary among the Onondagas, who called him "The looker up to Heaven." Sent to the Oneida in 1671, where he remained until 1684; Chaplain in Forts Frontenac and Niagara until 1689; Indian prisoner until 1694 (See Charlevoix, who

knew him personally), etc., who are the principal authors of the answers given to the 100 cas de conscience, of which I spoke before, and shall speak still more hereafter.

Father Carheil († † † †) Etienne de Carheil arrived in Canada in 1667, went to Onondaga in 1668, then to Cayuga; left here on account of sickness in 1671, and returned only to be compelled, by the obduracy of the tribe, to leave again soon after. In Detroit in 1687 or 1688, in Michilimakinac in 1690, where he excited the admiration and caused the conversion of the great Huron chief Kondiaront, "the Rat." He spent 60 years in missionary labors, but without great success, and died at Quebec in 1726; suffered from a disease which could not be cured in Canada, you may guess what it was, and it was therefore necessary that he should go to France to be properly treated, with his companion, the Jesuit Beau lieu, († †) who suffered from the same disease. He, too, was a good casuist, and of the right stamp.

The Rev. P. Jérôme L'Allemand, who wished with such fervor to see the house of the Jesuits at Quebec completed, that he only waited for that to die.

P. Lamberville († Probably Jean de Lamberville, who came to Canada in 1668, and was missionary among the Onondagas in 1671, where he founded the Church of St. John the Baptist. He was much beloved by his Indians, so that even the snare, into which he fell and which gave a number of Iroquois into the hands of their enemies, could not abate their admiration for him, although he had to leave them.

In 1691 they wanted him back, but he was in France, and seems not to have returned. He had a brother, Jacques, also of the Society Jesu, who labored among the Mohawks and Onondagas from 1673 to 1686, and then among the western Iroquois until 1709) a great casuist.

P. Vaillant. († François Vailant de Gueslis entered the Order in Quebec in 1675, and replaced P. Bruyas at Fort Hunter in 1679. Among the Mohawks in 1683, Ambassador to Governor Dongan, of New York, for the French Government in 1688, and frequently employed in diplomatic missions to the Indians.) These two have both been missionaries at Agnié.

The incomparable Father Boisseaud was killed performing the functions of a secular curate near Geneva.

Rev. P. Boniface gave his consent to the solution of the 100 conscience-cases, and declared that he was of the same way of thinking as the others, notwithstanding he was absent when they were examined.

Father Bechefer († Thierry Bechefer, missionary among the Mohawks and Oneidas in 1670, Superior in 1680. See La Hontan's Voyages), to whom the invoice for Agnié is directed, seems to me to be the least dishonest man of them all; he answered, when asked for his advice on the cases of conscience, that *he was not sufficiently informed about the superstitions of the Indians, to give an opinion.*

III. It remains only to consider the doctrine which they teach the Iroquois, the Hurons and other savage tribes, whom they want to convert. I find it

in two places. First, in the Catechism, written in the Oneida language on one side, and in Latin on the other. Several superstitions may be found in this writing, but my design is not to examine here the errors, which they continually teach the Europeans, but only certain doctrines, which are new and utterly unknown to the Christian world.

Chapters 14 and 15 of this Catechism are full of these strange and wonderful ideas. I consider it well to translate the former word for word.

Chap. 14. Of the Paradise.

The Indian Proselyte asks:

Q. How is the country in Paradise, is it fine?

The Father Jesuit answers:

A. It is very beautiful, there is no lack of every kind of eatables, of all that is necessary to clothe yourself, you are happy in every respect; if somebody says, I would like to be dressed in such a dress, there is the dress before you in an instant; if he desires to eat anything, Jesus Christ brings it immediately.

Q. Do people work in Heaven?

A. They do nothing whatever, they do not sow nor do they cultivate the fields, for they always find the wheat ripe and plenty of pumpkins and Indian beans, etc.

Q. Are the trees the same as here?

A. No; for the trees in Paradise are extremely beautiful, they are always in bloom, their leaves always green and they do not fall, the grass never dies.

Q. Is the sun the same as here, does it rain, does the wind blow, does it thunder?

A. No; it is always fine weather and the sky is never cloudy.

Q. Have they fruits in Heaven?

A. That is not impossible.

Q. How are the fruits made?

A. They are fine fruits, each tree is so loaded with them that, although people may gather them every day, there is never an end of it, for as soon as you have eaten one another grows in its place.

Q. Is it cold in Heaven?

A. There is no winter, but an eternal summer.

Q. Are there many inhabitants in Heaven?

A. Yes, a very great number.

Q. Do they know each other?

A. They know each other and are brothers and sisters, they greet each other, and never refuse or deny anything.

Q. Are the inhabitants of Heaven handsome?

A. They are very beautiful; for people who when dying were misformed, are straightened; there are no blind, no deaf, no hunchback people; for they are all made new in Heaven.

Q. Then there is no sickness in Heaven?

A. No; people live there very quietly; there are no diseases, no famine, no war and no death.

Q. Is it not rather tiresome in Heaven?

A. No; for 100 years are like a day; people have a great pleasure to look at each other.

This is the doctrine which the Jesuits teach the heathens whom they desire to convert; is it possible to give a more

carnal idea of Heaven? Mahomet even spoke not with more sensuality of the happiness which he promises to his followers for their future life. For you will first see that they teach these poor Iroquois that there is a country in Heaven inhabited like ours, they promise everything which helps to make them happy here on earth; no sickness, no winter, but fine dresses to decorate themselves, plenty to eat, and as they like pumpkins and beans, they also promise that they shall grow there without planting; they will find there all kinds of fruits, which they like, in great quantities; but fearing that the Indians should believe that they might exhaust this abundance by their voracity, they teach that as soon as one fruit is eaten another one grows in its place; the prayer before meals taught the Indians is in accordance with these notions: they make them say "*in Heaven we shall have a continued feasting,*" and as climax of their happiness, no ennui is found in Heaven.

That is a doctrine well worthy of all the men who boast of having the key of all the sciences; and yet it is embodied in a *Catechism*, that is in the marrow and body of the Religion. This doctrine is laid down among the most important points of Christianity, among the mysteries of the *Unity of God*, of the *nature of Angels*, of the *Incarnation of Jesus Christ*, of his *Martyrdom and Resurrection*; it forms a whole with what there is most important in the Divine will, with the *explanation of moral laws*, the *administration of the Sacrament*, etc. It would, indeed, be just as well, if these Indians were still heathens

instead of being Christians of this kind; they draw them out of one abyss to precipitate them into another; from Paganism they transfer them into Mahometism; it is easy to make conquests at such a price; it is only necessary to consult the inclinations of a people and then to preach a happiness conform to their desires; you will see that not one will be proof against such allurements. I leave it to the good Fathers, who boastingly call themselves the *Companions of Jesus Christ*, to consider whether Jesus and his Apostles converted people by such means.

The picture which they give of Hell, in Chap. 15, is not less pleasing. They teach that it is a bad country, situated in the middle of a fiery gulf in the centre of the earth, inhabited by demons and the bodies of the damned, which create a fearful stench. Then they say, the people there are always hungry, and have only *hot ashes, snakes and toads* to eat, their only drink is *molten lead*; and at the end of the chapter it is stated that the damned do not die, for even though they *devour each other every day, God makes them revive immediately, like a plant, which, torn out to-day, sprouts again a few days after*; therefore, they say, *the damned are so sad, because they know they will never die.*

Is there anything more ridiculous than these ideas? Do they not sound as if one of the Fathers of the Society had lately paid a visit down there to make a report of what is going on in Hell, and inform us of his new discoveries; or, at least, as if they had some mysterious connection with the evil spirits, who communicate to them the

details of Hell with such minuteness, that they can determine the situation, the victuals, the drinks, etc., thereby?

I pass over a ridiculous explanation of *God's commandments* in this Catechism, which says it is not sinful to *play, dance, go hunting, etc., on Sunday*; nor will I speak of other sections, where they make Jesus Christ say things which he never has said. It is better to go over to the examination of the *conscience-cases*, where I find the fine orthodox sentiments which these good Fathers teach the Iroquois.

Nobody need say that these *cas de conscience* have been decided by individual members of the Society; it was done by several missionaries, by a body of the most eminent Jesuits in America, by theologians, Peres, Profézs, etc. These cases were proposed, and decided to serve as rules for the Iroquois missionaries, and were confirmed by the Jesuit Fathers of Quebec, as their title proves.

I shall not examine them all, for they number one hundred, of which the greater part concern the customs of these heathens, and tend to merge their idolatrous cult into the Christian religion, and pass, therefore, over such as regards the *festivals* of the Iroquois, their *dreams and prophesies*, their *marriages*, their *offerings to the sun* and even to the *devil*, their *self-laudations, magic characters*, etc. I shall speak only of two, which are very remarkable.

One is the 89th. It is asked whether a Christian is *obliged to give a prostitute her promised reward?* The Rev. P. P. Milet and Lamberville say that a man is obliged to do it *ex justitia* (i. e. that it is just and equitable to do it). But P.

P. Frémim and Bruyas say that *even though a man ought to do it ex justitiā, yet there is no faith among the barbarians* (he speaks of Indian women), and, therefore, *it seems as if he was not obliged to keep his promise in such transactions*, and P. Pierron says absolutely *that a man is as little obliged to do it as to give a reward to a magician for having made a conjuration.*

I cannot help calling these villainous cases of conscience, and strange instruction for neophytes; these questions are more fitted to be examined in a brothel than in religious Christian teachings. I would not have thought of speaking of it here if it had not been my object to show to those who do not know them, what kind of people these Jesuits are. We see, hereby, and by what I have said above, how far their vows of chastity, so rigid in theory, are relaxed in practice.

In the other case, No. 90, this question is asked: *Is an Indian, who has robbed a Dutchman, obliged to make restitution of his plunder?* Rev. P. P. Pierron, Bruyas and Frémim say that *the Indian has no such obligation whatever, if the Dutchman, whom he has robbed, is the one with whom he leaves his goods, and if he deals with him, for he will soon repair his losses, as we learn it from themselves.* But P. Pierron goes still farther, for he is of opinion that *although the Indian thief has no dealings with the Dutch, he has no obligation to return the stolen goods, as long as the plundered Dutchman trades with other Indians.*

I would almost prefer living in Sparta, where it was permitted to steal, as long as it was done cleverly, and then it was

not considered a crime. For this is about the same doctrine which the good Fathers teach their new converts. But I do not understand how they dare decide such a case of conscience, after the trick which Jean d'Alba, one of their servants, played them in Paris. Mons. Pascal (a man enjoying great consideration from the Papists as well as the Protestants of France) tells the story in his *Lettres Provinciales*, under the name of *Louis de Montalte*. As far as I can remember it, it is as follows: This Jean d'Alba, a rather faithless servant, took it into his head one day to steal his master's silver dishes, perhaps because he thought that such dishes were not proper for men who had made the vow of poverty, however that may be, he was arrested, convicted, and placed into the clutches of the law. He found himself thoroughly embarrassed, poor devil, but luckily, a happy thought struck him, for during the examination for the proceedings in court, he said it was true, he had robbed his masters, the Reverend Fathers of the Society Jesu, but he had not committed any sin thereby, he knew very well that, even though a servant had agreed with his master for such and such a sum, yet, if he saw that his work was worth more than the agreed price, he could rob him until he had reached the value of his labor, and therefore, as he had earned much more than they gave him, he wanted to pay himself by his own hands. He stated he had learned this doctrine from their books, and quoted one written by one of their learned men (I believe it was Bau-génçais), which was brought into the Parliament, ordered to be torn to pieces

and burnt by the hangman, while the Jesuits were forbidden ever to teach such doctrines again. Jean d'Alba was released and told to steal no more.

The Canadian Jesuits in the neighborhood of Albany ought to be afraid lest the Indians may apply to their teachers the doctrines which they are taught to practice on the Dutch, for all the world knows that the Jesuits' commerce in peltries with the Indians during one year is as extensive as that of all the Dutch in New York, Albany and Pennsylvania during ten years.

May God soon deliver the Christian world from these grasshoppers, and let a strong east wind come to make them disappear. Amen.

Boston, the 29 of April, 1690.

¹ The French-Indian war of 1689 and 1690.

² Missionary among the Indians from 1667 to 1679. Afterwards Superior of the Order in Canada until 1700. He was the best philologist of the Mohawk language, and compiled many works on that tongue.

³ Jacques Frémin is said to have arrived in Canada in 1655. He went with Dablon, another Jesuit Father, to Onondaga, where he remained until 1658. After various other labors in Canada he was sent as missionary among the Mohawks in 1667; labored among the Senecas in 1668, and left them in 1671, to take again charge of the Indians at Laprairie. After a visit to France in 1679, he died in Quebec in 1791.

NOTES

GALLOWAY'S PLAN.—It has never been understood how this plan of accommodation with England was defeated in the Continental Congress of 1774. Lieutenant-Governor Colden, of New York, who had excellent means of knowing, wrote to Lord Dartmouth on

December 7, 1774, "The Delegates from Virginia were the most violent of any—those of Maryland and some of the Carolinians were little less so—these Southern Gentlemen exceeded even the New England Delegates; they, together, made a majority that the others could have very little effect on." (N. Y. Colonial Documents, Vol. VIII, p. 513.) This is not very clear, and Colden did not want to be perfectly clear; but it is possible to infer considerable from it.

We must first remember that there were twelve colonies at the Congress, and Rhode Island's vote was lost. (See Ward's Diary, Magazine of American History, Vol. I, p. 442.) Now the expression "*some of the Carolinians*" naturally means a minority. Besides (although too long for a note) there is sufficient testimony of the conservatism of all the Carolinians except Gadsden, of South Carolina, and Caswell, of North Carolina.

These deductions reduce Colden's list of patriotic colonies to Virginia, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut. There must have been one more to constitute a majority. There is no apparent reason why Colden should have omitted improperly Pennsylvania, New Jersey or Delaware; but it was Colden's habit to diminish the disloyalty of New York to recommend himself to the King. Moreover, New York was the only colony that had nine Delegates in this Congress, and Galloway, in his examination in the House of Commons, said there were colonies where five Delegates voted down four others who were in opposition to the measures carried. The four

New Yorkers so voted down are readily determined—Duane and Jay, from John Adams' Diary, and Low and Alsop, from their well known political views. The other five New Yorkers were men of superior patriotism.

When Galloway's Plan was introduced on September 28th, there is reason to believe that Philip Livingston voted for it, and thus put New York temporarily on the unpatriotic side. Galloway's final discomfiture was on October 22d, when his plan was cut out of the minutes by a vote of six colonies to five.

In Galloway's cross-examination, in the House of Commons, June 18, 1779, there is the following testimony: "He remembered perfectly well that of the members of one colony, consisting of nine, there were five for the Confederation and four against it." By *Confederation* he apparently means the Articles of Association.

Thus the position of New York on the Tory or Patriotic side depended on the voice of a single Delegate. The last comer from New York was Simon Boerum, of Kings county. He is said by Galloway to have been declared *unanimously* elected at a meeting composed of one man and himself. If this story is true, the one man who voted for him was probably his nephew, William Boerum, who lived with him at Brooklyn Ferry.

As the great events of history sometimes depend on trifles, the American Revolution may have resulted from that vote of William Boerum, though, as Horatio said, "Twere to consider too curiously, to consider so." According to his gravestone, in Cedar Dell, Green-

wood, he died August 25, 1785, aged thirty-nine years and nine months.

From 1777 to 1783 he sat in the New York Assembly as a representative of Kings county *in partibus infidelium*.

F. BURDGE.

THE NEWARK COACH, 1830.—Had the Charioteer of the Sun thundered through our streets with his fiery steeds yesterday, he would scarcely have attracted more attention than did an elegant coach and six from Newark, drawn by six coal-black coursers, and containing thirty-two passengers. The seats of the vehicle, within and without, being calculated for the accommodation of that number. The coach is a highly finished and beautiful structure, and is pronounced by good judges equal to any public coach on the English roads. It has a double body, and sits on eight superior cradle springs. It is lined and cushioned with purple morocco, except the ceiling and a narrow drapery, fringed and festooned all round, of rich yellow silk. The body is painted light green, with handsomely ornamented pannels. Plated mouldings extend over its whole length, with numerous other plated ornaments. Instead of curtains it has four glass windows, and four mahogany Venetian blinds. The driver showed himself a master of his craft. The coach was built by Messrs. Carter, Mitchell & Co., of Newark, N. J., who have recently established themselves in the business, and deserve great credit for this specimen of their workmanship. It is intended to run regularly, as a daily stage between Newark and New York.—*Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 21, 1830. W. K.

ANOTHER FISH STORY.—*Hampton, in New Hampshire, June 24, 1756.* Last Tuesday, just at Sunset, two or three Young Men were coming up from Shaw's Island across the Marsh, and hearing a rustling in a little Salt Pond, and upon looking in, spied a vast Number of fine large Mackrel swimming about; they immediately waded in, and they were so thick that they threw Numbers out with their Hands. One of the Men ran to the nearest House, got a Pigeon-Net, and drew out 400 presently. The next Day, in that and another Salt Pond, they catched upwards of 1,000 fine large Mackrel. It is supposed they might be drove in by some large Fish when the Tides were high last Week, and were now catched in these little Ponds, from which they could not escape after the Tides left them. It causes much Speculation, for there never was a Mackrel known here about, nor are they yet in our Sea.

PETERSFIELD.

THE FIRST BOSTON FOUNDLING.—*Monday Nov. 9 [1685].* Flight of snow. This day, about 6 or 7 at night, a Male Infant pin'd up in a sorry Cloth, is laid upon the Bulk of Shaw, the Tabacco-Man. Great Search made tonight and next day to find the mother. So far as I can hear this is the first Child that ever was in such a manner exposed in Boston.—*Sewall's Diary.* MASSACHUSETTS.

DUN FISH AND CUSK.—The English are and have always been great lovers of fish. The ambassador's bag, for a long period before railroads and steamboats enabled individuals to compete with the royal

mail, always carried herring of the first run, from the Hague to London, as a diplomatic courtesy. The famous varieties of New England cod were luxuries equally prized. From the time that the victors of Louisburg parted, it was the annual habit of Sir William Pepperrell to send a quintal of dun-fish and another of cusk to his companion in the siege, Sir Peter Warren, in England.

PENOBCOT.

AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS IN 1789.—According to an estimate lately made by a gentleman of this city, chiefly from actual accounts received from the several printers, it appears that the number of newspapers printed in the United States, weekly, is 76,438; annually, 3,974,776, which, at 4 cents each, amounts to 158,991 dollars and 4 cents.—*Gazette of the United States, Oct. 14, 1789.*

ANTIQUARY.

QUERIES

"INWOOD-ON-HUDSON," vs. "TUBBY HOOK."—The latter was the old name of this locality, situated at the northwest extremity of Manhattan Island, or by river side, one mile south of Spuyten Duyvel creek. Its present romantic and very appropriate name was given it not many years ago by new-comers, and not by choice of the old residents. What or when was the origin of the former designation, "Tubby Hook," is what no man hereabouts can tell. If any reader of this Magazine can, we shall be glad to see his account of it. Hook or "Hoek," means, in the old Dutch, a point or corner in the land, and gener-

ally as made by a water indentation. That on the Hudson, here, is of rather a diminutive nature, and therefor received, possibly, the humble attributive "Tubby." At the intersection of Broadway with the Inwood avenue to the Hudson R. R. depot, where are to be seen two giant-like, gnarled, very curiously-knotted willows, that have been there *quasi sentinel*s for near a century, still stands a dilapidated, ancient-looking house, that some twenty-five years ago was called the "Black Horse" tavern, and its sign bore the old local name, now a thing of memory and the matter of our present inquiry.

Inwood, Nov., 1878.

W. H.

FRENCH EMIGRÉS AND NEW YORK COFFEE HOUSES.—Brillat-Savarin, the famous gastronome, author of *La Physiologie du Goût*, gives the following account of the habits of the Frenchmen who were driven from France by the Revolution. "I sometimes passed the evenings in a sort of *café-taverne*, kept by a Mr. Little, where he served in the morning 'Turtle soup,' and in the evening all the refreshments customary in the United States. I generally took with me the Vicomte de la Massue and Jean Rodolphe Fehr, formerly a mercantile broker at Marseilles, both *émigrés* like myself. I treated them to a welch-rabbit, which we washed down with ale or cider, and here we passed the evening talking over our misfortunes, our pleasures and our hopes." A note informs us that the welch-rabbit was a bit of cheese toasted on a slice of bread.

What became of Savarin's companions, and where was Little's Coffee House?

FLY-MARKET

EARLY AMERICAN PRINTING.—An almanac for the year 1696 lies before me. The title-page, unfortunately, is wanting; but from the body of the pamphlet it appears that the author was a Quaker, living in West Jersey, and that he had published an almanac for the preceding year. He speaks very impressively of the effects of the eclipses to be expected during the year, though he does not "pretend to prophesie." A chronological table, upon a peculiar plan, gives the number of years that have elapsed since the events mentioned, thus:

<i>Virginia</i> first planted by the English	90
<i>New found-Land</i> first planted.....	85
<i>New York</i> first planted.....	83
The first settling of <i>New Englania</i>	78
The building of <i>Boston</i> in <i>New England</i> ...	66
<i>Maryland</i> first planted	64
Quakers first so called.....	45
The Professors in <i>New England</i> hanged the Quakers for Religion	37
Some called Quakers at Philadelphia impris- oned and fined Quakers for Religion... .	4
The Dutch yielded <i>New York</i> , <i>Albany</i> & <i>New-Castle</i> to the English.....	32
<i>Carolina</i> first planted.....	26
The first building of <i>Burlington</i>	18
<i>Pensilvania</i> first so called.....	16
<i>Philadelphia</i> first founded	14
King William & Queen Mary Crowned....	8
141 Persons dyed in the County of <i>Bur-</i> <i>lington</i>	7
The great flood in <i>Delaware</i>	5
The Terrible Earth-quake in <i>Jamaica</i>	4
Queen Mary dyed	1

Is a complete copy of this almanac known to exist? Where was it printed?

CHARLES W. BAIRD.

DE BRY'S VOYAGES.—The "Voyages of De Bry" are, I am aware, excess-

ively rare and costly. Collectors say that so rare indeed is De Bry that Mr. James Lenox and Mr. Henry C. Murphy have each been trying for twenty years to perfect complete sets, and without success. Can some of your bibliographical correspondents furnish me with information as to the number of complete sets of the voyages known to exist, where they are to be found, and what constitutes a *complete* set of them?

Brooklyn, N. Y. BIBLIOPOLE.

PETIT'S NARRATIVE.—Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform me whether P. Petit's narrative of the massacre of the Natchez, in Louisiana (1729-1730), and his description of the Natchez Indians, which is a sort of preface to the "Massacre Narrative," have ever been published in the English language. It was written in June, 1730, and published in Vol. XX, of the "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses de Paris, 1732," and in a German translation in Joseph Stöcklein's "Weltbott," Vol. V.

Cincinnati. H. A. R.

WILLIAMS, THE PORTRAIT PAINTER.—(I, 451, 576, 762.) In a volume entitled "the Artists of America," etc., by C. Edward Lester, N. Y., 1846, on p. 72, the biographical sketch of Benjamin West, the author says:

"Pennington took West to Philadelphia in his ninth year, where he executed a landscape of the Delaware, which so much delighted Williams, a portrait painter, that he warmly encouraged him to prosecute his studies. Williams may have painted good or bad portraits, but he did one thing worth

remembering. He put into West's hands two books, "Du Fresnoy and Richardson, with an invitation to call whenever he pleased and see his pictures." Was not this the Williams who painted the Masonic portrait of Washington for the Alexandria Lodge, No. 22, which now hangs in the Lodge room at Alexandria? What was his full name? Can any one give any account of him?

H. E. H.

Brownsville, Pa.

NO MORE CONVENTIONS.—The pithiness of the following remarks will commend it to all true Federalists: "Heaven forbid any Convention for a while! I dread the work of fifteen hundred reformers in the present fluctuation of sentiments. If we must at all amend, I pray for merely amusing amendments; a little frothy garnish. But why do we not rather sit down as brothers and feast on the substantial meat for which we have fasted so long!" This extract we find in the Gazette of the United States of July 8, 1789. From whom is it quoted?

FEDERALIST.

REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS.—In December, 1864, a note went the rounds of the press to the effect that there were then living five men receiving pensions for services rendered in the revolutionary war. Are there any of the five now living?

INQUIRER.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

AN AUTHOR'S NAME.—"Essays on Various Subjects of Taste, Morals, and National Policy. By a citizen of Vir-

ginia, Georgetown, D. C. Published by Joseph Milligan, 1822. 8vo, p. xi—350." Can any one tell the name of the author of the above volume ?

H. E. H.

A FRENCH HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—In the Gazette of the United States of 11th July, 1789, I find the following: "Madame la Baronne de Vasse is about to publish at Paris a History of the American Revolution, *La Revolution de l'Amérique*, &c., in two vols., octavo—price to subscribers 10 livres (14 s 2). It will include a period of 27 years, beginning at 1760; and Madame de Vasse assures us, that the information it conveys may be relied on—it being compiled from authentic documents, and indisputable authorities alone, by an uprejudiced and impartial writer. We are also told, that it has been approved by DR. FRANKLIN and other American gentlemen who have seen it in manuscript; and an English author of some distinction in the literary world, has so high an opinion of it as to be engaged in translating it. It is just published." Has this work ever been translated?

LECTOR.

THE FIRST GENERATION.—"Thursday, Nov. 12, 1685. Mr Moosdey preached from Isa. 57, 1. Mr Cobbet's Funeral Sermon; said also of Mr Chauncy that he was a Man of Singular Worth—Said but 2 of the First Generation left."—*Sewall's Diary*. To whom does Mr. Sewall refer. To two of the first generation of ministers (both Cobbett and

Chauncy were ministers), or to two of the first generation of New England settlers?

ENQUIRER.

RED MADEIRA.—Sewall, describing a treat given by the Lieut.-Governor to the Governor and his lady and many more, at which there were two tables (Oct. 27, 1689), says that "Capt Crow breaks a Glass bottle of Madeira as it stood on the floor, so that it run about with its Sanguin Color." What sort of Madeira wine was this?

ENQUIRER.

CITY ISLAND.—What is the origin of this name of the land now known as City Island in the East River. Tradition tells of an attempt at one time to found a city here, and of the island being laid out in lots. Who was the founder of this scheme, and when was it attempted?

NEW YORK.

REPLIES

GREEK COLONY IN FLORIDA.—(III, 56.) In the Magazine for January, 1879, a correspondent, who signs himself R. M. P., asks for information respecting the Greek colony at New Smyrna, Florida. I have passed many winters at that place, and have investigated the history of that colony, which is, briefly, as follows:

In 1767 Dr. Trumbull, of Charleston, S. C., came to New Smyrna with a colony of 1,500 persons; Greeks, Italians and Minorcans, whom he had lured from their homes by promises of bettering their condition. He estab-

lished them on a tract of 60,000 acres, and began the culture of indigo. The people were reduced to slavery, and treated with great cruelty by Trumbull, whose partner in the enterprise was the English Governor of the territory, who kept the colonists in subjection with English troops. This slavery lasted nine years, during which time nearly two-thirds of the colonists perished; but large crops of indigo were raised for the company—one year 30,000 lbs. it is stated.

In 1776, a new Governor having arrived, the petitions of these people for relief were listened to, and they were released from the tyranny of their master. Most of them went to St. Augustine, where their descendants constitute a large part of the native population. A few still remain at New Smyrna.

Traces of Trumbull's settlement remain, in the shape of canals cut through the coquina rock for draining the swamp, and walls and foundations of stone buildings, built and planted more than one hundred years ago by this vanished people.

For accounts of this colony see: Roman's Natural History of Florida, New York, 1775; Williams' Territory of Florida, New York, 1857; Notes on the Floridian Peninsula, Phila., 1859, by Dr. D. G. Brinton; A Guide Book to Florida and the South, Phila., 1869, by Dr. D. G. Brinton.

Jamaica Plains. S. C. C.

SONGS OF THE FATHERS. (III, 198.) —The note of Mr. Parton with the text of the song *Follow the Drum*, sung by Alexander Hamilton at the Fourth of

July dinner of the Cincinnati just before his fatal duel, recalls what I often heard in my youth. Colonel Ebenezer Stevens of the Continental Artillery, later Major-General of the State of New York, was one of the original founders of the Cincinnati, and after the peace a prominent figure among the Continentals. He always gave the closing song at the Fourth of July dinners standing upon the table. The song was "Yankee Doodle" in the old version, and the chorus was joined in by all present.

Alluding to the occasion when Hamilton sung *Follow the Drum* for the last time, Colonel Stevens said that none of the officers present had any idea that a hostile meeting was anticipated between Hamilton and Burr, and that had such been the case, the old army officers would never have permitted it to take place.

J. A. S.

THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH—LEE A TRAITOR. (II, 408, 569, 758; III, 58.) —Here let me drop the curtain, and invite you to accompany me to the Heights of Monmouth. There let me recall to your indignant view, the flower of the American infantry flying before an enemy that scarce dared to pursue—vanquished without a blow—vanquished by their obedience to the commands of a leader who meditated their disgrace. Let me contrast with this the conduct of your Greene; the calm intrepidity and unshaken presence of mind, with which he seconded the dispositions of his General, to arrest the progress of the disorder and retrieve the fortune of the day.
—*Hamilton's Eulogium on Gen. Greene, July 4, 1789.*

READER.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

LE COMTE DE FERSEN ET LA COUR DE FRANCE. EXTRATS DES PAPIERS DU GRAND MARÉCHAL DE SUÈDE, COMTE JEAN AXEL DE FERSEN. Publiéés par son petit neveu, LE BARON R. M. DE KLINCKOWSTRÖM, Colonel Suédois. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 321-440. Librairie de Firmin—Didot et Cie., Paris, 1877.

COUNT DE FERSEN AND THE COURT OF FRANCE. Extracts from the Papers of the Grand Marshal of Sweden, Count Jean Axel de Fersen. Published by his Grand-nephew, Baron R. M. De Klinkenström, Colonel in the Swedish Army.

It would be difficult to name a private individual since Bayard and Sidney whose career presents more romantic interest or whose character possesses more of the elements of a *preux chevalier* than the famous Count de Fersen, the subject of the memoirs before us. These two volumes, admirably edited, consist of a part of his journal and of letters and documents found among his papers, and in their thrilling graphic details of events, the most dramatic in modern history, lead us to share the regret de Fersen himself expresses at the loss of his memoirs from the year 1780. Not daring to take the rest of them on his person, he left them at Paris upon his flight in 1791, and they were burned by their custodian, from a similar fear. They contained, to use his own words, precious notes concerning the revolution (French), which would have served to throw light on the character of the king and queen and the history of the period. "From them," he adds, true to the single affection which was the most beautiful trait in his career, "the world would have learned how wretched the princess (Marie Antoinette) was, how thoroughly she appreciated her misfortunes, how much she was affected by them, and how her great soul knew how to forgive and to rise superior to injustice in the consciousness of the good that she did and desired to." His devotion to the king and queen, at every personal risk, is a familiar theme. He made all the preparations for the flight of the royal family in June, 1791, and disguised as a coachman, himself drove them from Paris to Bondy. On the failure of the evasion, from causes for which he was not responsible, he was thrown into prison. Released upon the amnesty, he found means to comfort and console the royal captives. From the close of the year 1791 he was their trusted adviser and the me-

dium of their correspondence with the sovereigns of Europe. These volumes contain numerous confidential letters of the queen. The terrible end of de Fersen is the most dramatic episode in history. Returned to Sweden, he received the highest dignities. Hated by the ultra-democratic party at Stockholm, as the head of the high aristocracy of the kingdom, he was selected as a victim of party intrigue. Upon the sudden death of Prince Christian, a popular favorite and the heir to the throne, de Fersen was accused of having poisoned him, and, abandoned to the vengeance of the angry crowd, was literally torn to pieces, limb from limb; his clothing, even, shred from shred, in the public streets.

Of extreme beauty of face and person, he was remarked by the queen on his first appearance at the Court of Versailles. There is no doubt that the favorable impression made upon the queen, which gave umbrage to the nobility and offence to the jealous courtiers, was reciprocated by de Fersen, but his soul was too elevated and noble for him to seek the preferment which the interest of the young queen, whose influence was supreme with the king, opened to his ambition. He at once made up his mind that the path of honor and duty was flight, and volunteered in the corps of Rochambeau, about to sail for America. When he took his leave of the queen her lovely eyes filled with tears. But de Fersen did not comprehend self-sacrifice by halves. He would not consent to even the semblance of a preference. To the Duchess de Fitz James, who mocked him with lightly abandoning his conquest, he replied with simplicity, "Had I made one, I should not abandon it," and added, "I leave without a tie, and, alas ! no regrets follow me."

Fortunately for us, his letters to his father, describing his services in America, have been wholly preserved; they began at Paris the 2d of March, 1780, with the announcement of his appointment as aide-de-camp to Rochambeau. M. de Vergennes himself secured him this post. Is it extravagant to suppose that the wise minister understood and appreciated the motive of his departure? Certain it is that he was treated by all the French officers with distinction, by Rochambeau with distinguished courtesy, and by the Duke de Lauzun, for whom he contracted a warm attachment, with fraternal affection. His letters from Newport give by far the best account of the French army during the occupation. His opportunities of observation were superior, and his observations themselves have the advantage of having been written under the impression of the moment, and with the frankness of a son

to a father whom he honored and revered. His American correspondence closes with a letter written at Boston December 21st, 1782, on board the ship which carried the French contingent to their service in the Southern station. There are two later from Porto Cabello, dated in the spring of 1783.

As we propose shortly to print a translation of these letters in full in the magazine, we shall not dwell further on their importance.

**WILLIAM DAWES AND HIS RIDE
WITH PAUL REVERE:** an Essay Read before the New England Historic-Genealogical Society on June 7, A. D. 1877; to which is appended a genealogy of the Dawes family, by HENRY W. HOLLAND. 4to, pp. 128. One hundred copies, privately printed for the Editor, by JOHN WILSON & SON, Boston, 1878.

The author of this elegantly printed and expensively illustrated volume need not have said in his preface that it was not meant for the public; the public have a direct interest in it, and Mr. Holland will not do justice to the heroic character who is its subject, nor his descendants, nor yet to himself, unless he place a certain number of this small edition in places where the public can have certain access to them. And we venture to suggest, in this connection, that in all such special editions it is a wise thing for the author to give notice in his preface as to the libraries in which it may be consulted. We have nothing of which to complain; Mr. Holland, at our request, having kindly consented to the deposit of the copy, now under our eyes, in the New York Historical Society in this city.

The narrative portion of this work was read before the Historic-Genealogic Society of Massachusetts. It is now enlarged by the addition of information since obtained, and illustrated with numerous photographs, principally of males and females of the Dawes family, from portraits in their possession.

The ride described has been celebrated in prose and verse and is familiarly known as Paul Revere's Ride. The ride was from Boston to Lexington and Concord, to rouse the country and warn Hancock and Adams, who were in quiet repose, little dreaming of the sudden movement of the British to seize the stores of the colony and to capture their own rebel persons. Three men planned the expedition—Warren, the immortal of Bunker Hill; Revere, the post-rider of the Liberty Boys, and William Dawes, in whose honor these pages. Warren watched from a coign of vantage the British soldiery, and on their movement sent out Dawes by land,

over the neck and across the river, at the Brighton bridge, to Cambridge and Lexington, and later Paul Revere by the water route through Charlestown to Lexington.

There have been many stories of this night ride and of the incidents which attended it. In the account of Mr. Holland, we are told that Revere and Dawes met on the Medford Green, and went thence to Concord in company. The argument is elaborate and its details interesting. We may here be pardoned for adding that, in the tradition of the family of the editor, his grandfather, Benjamin Weld, of the Roxbury family and later in the commissary department of the Continental army, was on this memorable evening of the 18th of April, residing at Lexington, where he was engaged as a teacher; that, aroused at night, he mounted a horse, and with a drum rode through the neighboring country, arousing the citizens.

The Dawes genealogy is an elaborate piece of work of the kind, well worth an examination, and there is an admirable name index, for which the compiler deserves credit.

DIARY OF CALEB CRESSON, 1791-1792.

Printed from his Original Manuscripts, for Family Distribution, by EZRA TOWNSEND CRESSON. Small 8vo, pp. 214. Philadelphia, 1877.

This is another privately printed volume, which we owe to the courtesy of the family. Why the possessors of a diary like this should confine it to their own circle we do not understand. In pure, fresh thought and quaint language it is refreshing as a spring rain, with its healthful smell of the vegetating earth, to use Mr. Cresson's own words. Take such passages as these: "Hail and rain this morning, which made the roads and streets so slippery as to be difficult to pass. However, I got to meeting three times and was peaceful."—"A snowy morning and a dull day. I employed myself indoors, for I've always something to do, and I'm thankful for it, for I find employment keeps the enemy out."—True enough of more enemies than one; or this: "A fine, fair morn. Nature, rejoicing in the bounty of the Great Creator, now putting on her gayest robes; the fields luxuriant; the animal creation in vigor and high health. O that we may not abuse them—the generous horse particularly, the sportive lamb, the profitable cow, the useful ox," &c.

Caleb Cresson was the grandson of Solomon Cresson, of mixed French and German extraction, who was cast away with Jonathan Dickinson on the Florida coast in 1666, and on his mother's side, of George Emlen, who came over with William Penn. The Cressons belonged to the Friends.

Simple as this diary is, it is full of local sketches which fascinate and detain the eye on every page. He recites with minuteness a journey to New England in 1791, by land, through Burlington, Crosswicks, Rahway and Elizabeth to New York, where he visited among the Quakers, and then set sail to Newport. Here we are introduced to the Friends again. Next he visited Nantucket and Boston, after which he returned by water, quite after the modern fashion, from Newport to New York. In Boston he searched after the places hallowed by the blood of the martyrs in the days of Puritan persecution.

While in New York, he visited Thomas Dobson, whose daughter Lindley Murray married. He drank tea also with Thomas Pearsall, who married another daughter of Dobson. Pearsall lived in Pearl street, in a house on the ground now covered by the Fulton bank. Among the delicious titbit morsels for the palate of an antiquary is his notice of Isaac Collins' great quarto Bible, which he saw in press at Trenton, and his quaint entry under date 1791, 9th day 1st March : "Widow White (mother of him called the bishop), deceased."

The book closes with the "dying sayings of Mary Armitt, who deceased at Philadelphia, second month 18, 1791, aged 83 years." She was not informed that what she spake would be taken down, and no very good reason appears why it should be printed.

The volume is illustrated with a number of photographic silhouettes, which have a grim quaintness quite in character with the text, and it is handsomely bound.

We trust we have shown the appreciation we feel for volumes of this character. The pages of the Magazine are always open to such diaries as these.

HISTORY OF THE SARATOGA MONUMENT ASSOCIATION, Prepared by WILLIAM L. STONE, Secretary of the Association. 8vo, pp. 18. JOEL MUNSELL, Albany, 1879.

At the time of the centennial of the surrender of Burgoyne, due attention was paid to the numerous accounts and addresses that were drawn out by the anniversary of the celebration of the battles of Bemis Heights and Saratoga.

This is an account of the origin and purpose of the Saratoga Monument Association. It contains the memorial to Congress, in 1873, for an appropriation of two hundred thousand dollars, which seems not to have been successful, and the petition to the State Legislature, which voted \$10,000 in a bill which Governor Robinson vetoed. Thus the committee were thrown upon their own resources and appealed to the public,

The response was, as Mr. Stone puts it, "comparatively generous," and the association laid the corner stone and one fourth of the base. The pamphlet includes a picture of the monument as it is to be when finished. On three of the corners of the plinth are to be set bronze cannon, taken at the surrender; on the other a cannon said to have been taken from the British in 1813, which seems singularly out of place. Is there no other trophy of the War of Independence, that the committee need lend themselves to such an anachronism? We hope so.

MEMORIAL SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND LITERARY LABORS OF EVERET AUGUSTUS DUYCKINCK; read before the New York Historical Society on the seventh day of January, 1879, by WILLIAM ALLEN BUTLER, 8vo, pp. 14. New York, 1879.

Mr. Butler, as an intimate personal friend of Mr. Duyckinck, was selected by the New York Historical Society to prepare a tribute of regard to the memory of this distinguished man of letters, who had been for years its honored corresponding secretary. It would be difficult to find, in the range of this class of literature a sketch so graceful in style, so vernal in its freshness of treatment as this. Mr. Duyckinck's outward life was well known; he was a successful editor, and owed his success to his labor and his ability to get through with a vast amount of labor in short time—no other conditions of mental temperament suffice to originate and complete a cyclopædia.

In all these personal sketches there is something to be enjoyed. In this we point the reader to the passages wherein the modest home taste—almost that of a recluse, which was the most marked trait of Mr. Duyckinck—are related. He was genial, but never noisily gay; his smile was outward, constant and lovely, but his laugh was to be seen not heard; he laughed inwardly, after the manner of his forefathers. He loved the city; he loved it because of its nearness to the avenues of learning. Mr. Butler compares his urban taste to that of Madame de Staél, who preferred a fourth story in the Rue de Bac to all the glories of Switzerland. The comparison is faultless, but to our mind he recalls more vividly Charles Lamb, haunting the libraries, poring over the book stalls, and for a walk strolling through the quaint places and nooks about Temple Bar; nor were the men otherwise unlike in their quaint, dry humour and their un-failing love of human kind. It was our good fortune to know Mr. Duyckinck well. His last literary work, perhaps, was the tribute to the friend of his youth, James William Beekman,

prepared for the New York Historical Society and printed in the pages of the Magazine at Mr. Duyckinck's own request.

We regret on many accounts that it was not permitted us to print the present sketch also. This pamphlet is printed from the type of the *Evening Post*, in which his addresses appeared. Let not that hinder it from finding its way to the tables of the numberless literary band who knew and loved Duyckinck, and of whom no one but will be thankful to Mr. Butler that the old companion and friend is not left to "float adown the stream of time without the meed of some melodious tear."

THE TOWN OF ROXBURY: ITS MEMORABLE PERSONS AND PLACES; ITS HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES, WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS OF ITS OLD LANDMARKS AND NOTED PERSONAGES, by FRANCIS S. DRAKE. 8vo. pp. 475. Published by the AUTHOR, Roxbury, 1878.

New England certainly leads the van in antiquarian investigation, each of her principal cities receiving in turn careful and exhaustive treatment at the hands of her local historians.

In this elaborate volume may be found everything of interest in the history of this ancient town, which the accomplished and thorough author terms "the mother of towns," fifteen prosperous New England communities, including the flourishing cities of Springfield and Worcester, having been founded or largely settled by citizens of Roxbury. Moreover, she gave three generals to the revolutionary army and no less than ten of the Governors of Massachusetts have been her natives or residents.

The colonists of Roxbury were mostly from London and its vicinity, a few being from the West of England; among them we find names which have illustrated the history of the country, and are still honorably borne by its present residents. Of such are Curtis, Crafts, Dudley, Griggs, Heath, Payson, Parker, Beaver, Weld and Williams. Timothy Stevens, from whom the Andover Stevens stock derived, and the first of the well-known Ruggles family, were of the earlier settlers. Rev. Thomas Weld, one of the first resisters, in England, of Laud's persecutions, was the first pastor of the first church, while his brother, Captain Joseph Weld, if we remember rightly, was the wealthiest settler. They were of the "Sulworth Castle" Weld family.

The volume abounds in local details, for the first time gathered together, covering the colonial period, the siege of Boston—the annals of which are presented with minute accuracy—descrip-

tions of the old roads and dwellings, and biographical sketches of all those who have made them memorable; in a word a mine of historical material and pleasant incidents graphically related.

The volume abounds in engravings of buildings and personages, has fine steel engravings of Governors Shirley and Dudley, and a fac simile of the earliest engraved map of the town.

Roxbury should be well content with such a history, and all historical students grateful for such thorough work. It has an excellent name and subject index.

KING'S HANDBOOK OF BOSTON, profusely Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 292. MOSES KING, Publisher, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

This is the first attempt at a handbook of any of our American cities that we have yet seen, although its manner of construction is hardly what we had expected from its title. We had looked for an account of the localities of the city; squares, churches, streets, houses, monuments, statues, fountains, indeed of every locality, ornament and illustration, reciting its history and changes, from its beginnings till the present day. Such is Cunningham's Handbook of London, and such some day we hope to see of every ancient city on our continent. Mr. King's book, excellent as it is, is rather a guidebook than a work of the character we have described. In it the reader will find, however, a succinct account of the city as it has been and a thorough display of the city as it is.

It is handsomely printed, well-illustrated with maps and views, both full paged and insets, some of which are excellent examples of the last stage of improvement in this rapidly developing branch of art.

HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF DOUGLAS (MASSACHUSETTS) FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE CLOSE OF 1878, by WILLIAM A. EMERSON. 8vo, pp. 359. Published by FRANK W. BIRD, Old Book Shop, Boston, 1879.

The original settlers of the town of Douglas came almost entirely from the town of Sherburn, though a portion of them appear to have hailed from Natick. The territory was known as New Sherburn, or the New Sherburn Grant, until the year 1746, when it received its present name.

The history of the town is elaborately related from the time of the eager participation of its in-

habitants in the revolutionary outbreak to their equally honorable promptness in rallying to the support of the Government in the very first days of the late civil war. A biographical and genealogical department supplies abundant information concerning the families of Hill, Hunt, Wallis (now Wallace), Whipple, Rawson and Dudley, besides some personal sketches.

There are some creditable illustrations, but no index, an omission we consider to be unpardonable in a work of this character, the chief value of which, as of all its kind, is for reference.

SEYMOUR AND VICINITY: HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, by W. C. SHARPE. 8vo, pp. 148. RECORD PRINT, Seymour, Connecticut, 1878.

The town of Seymour was set apart from the old township of Derby, by act of the General Assembly, in the year 1850. Derby had before been cut down from its original limits by the elimination of Oxford as a separate parish in 1740. The old town was first settled by the family of Johnson, citizens of New Haven. The wives of the two brothers were granddaughters of Jonathan Brewster, an emigrant to Plymouth in the Mayflower. There is a reasonable amount of information in the sketch of the history of the town, and of the churches which it includes, arranged in a manner that savors more of compilation than of any original investigation; still we are thankful for it, as for any town history. The index atones for many deficiencies of arrangement. There are some photographic views, a form of illustration we are not partial to, as little likely to stand the test of time.

A MEMOIR OF CALEB STRONG, U. S. SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS, 1745-1818, by HENRY CABOT LODGE. 8vo, pp. 29. Press of JOHN WILSON & SON, Cambridge, Mass., 1879.

This sketch, which is prefaced by a fine steel engraving, of a portrait of its subject by Gilbert Stuart, is reprinted from the early proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, now in course of publication. Mr. Lodge's thorough acquaintance with New England history and genealogy is sufficient warrant of accuracy and interest in the treatment of a man who, if not of intellectual brilliancy, at least played his part on the public stage in a manner worthy of his vigorous puritan ancestry. He was descended from John Strong, who emigrated from Somersetshire in 1630.

Graduated from Harvard in 1764, his early manhood was passed in the very thick of the excitement which burst all restraint in 1775. In 1779 he represented Northampton in the Convention which formed the Constitution of Massachusetts. He was one of the leaders in the Federal party which secured the ratification of the Constitution of the United States; no easy task in Massachusetts, which of all States most clung, as her founders had done, to autonomy in political government. He was rewarded by the post of United States Senator, one of the first of Massachusetts. In 1800 he easily defeated Mr. Gerry, and became Governor of the Commonwealth. In 1804 he still retained his post, although Massachusetts went over to the Jeffersonian party. In 1807 he was defeated. In 1812 he was restored to the office, again defeating the "Gerrymandering" of his old opponent, Mr. Gerry. In 1814 the State of Massachusetts was at issue with the General Government on the war question. The less said about his action on this occasion the better. He held to the States' rights doctrine in practice as well as theory. He declined the requisition for troops. Massachusetts sustained him and he was re-elected again, and held the office until 1816, when he finally withdrew from public life. He died suddenly in 1818.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF REV. E. M. P. WELLS, D. D., of St. Stephens, Boston, Mass., by Dr. SAMUEL W. FRANCIS. 8vo, pp. 45. Published by CHARLES E. HAMMETT, Jr., Newport, Rhode Island, 1878.

Our friend, the author of this tribute to a most worthy man, derives the descent of his reverend subject from one of the Norman knights of William the Conqueror, and introduces, in his preliminary sketch, the old ballad of the Baker Baron, whose tenure of the manor of Wells depended on his supply of the king's household with bread. The Norman barons were practical fellows; they hated servitude, and were as independent as the Saxons they conquered, but they did not refuse the semblance of it for a suitable consideration in broad lands.

The father of the Rev. Mr. Wells was a lieutenant in the revolutionary army; his son, the minister, was born at Stratford in 1793; began life as a tailor, then turned farmer, later tanner, served faithfully in the war of 1812, and then entered the "army of the Lord." With a perseverance which is not exceptional in New England character, he fitted himself for college, and entered Brown University, which he left, because he would not betray his comrades, for pranks in which he was not a participant.

In 1823 he was licensed as a Congregational minister at Plymouth. After various service in the Protestant Episcopal Church, in which he was ordained priest in 1827, he was, in 1843, elected Episcopal city missionary, which led to the erection of St. Stephen's free chapel by the Hon. William Appleton, of Boston. St. Stephen's House was burned in the great Boston fire of 1872. Mr. Wells died in December, 1878, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. This is the fond tribute of a friend who knew him personally for twenty-two years.

**RECORD OF THE SHARPE FAMILY IN
ENGLAND AND AMERICA FROM 1580 TO 1870,
by W. C. SHARPE. 16mo, pp. 33. Seymour,
Connecticut, 1874.**

We are glad to put on record this little family sketch. The Sharps now treated of are supposed to be derived from the family of that name, of Bradford, in Yorkshire, England. There have been many of the name of high repute in theology on both sides of the Atlantic. They have given deans and archbishops to the Anglican Church, and divines to Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina and Missouri. The first of the name in America were Thomas Sharpe, assistant to Governor Endicott, and Samuel Sharpe, who brought despatches to the same Governor from King Charles II. in 1629. He returned to England in 1631. The latter was "ruling elder" of the Salem Church till his death, in that town, in 1658.

The American branch seems to be descended from Thomas Sharpe, who emigrated to Stratford about 1700. The connection with the earlier emigrants is not made in these pages.

**GENEALOGICAL RECORD OF THE
DESCENDANTS OF DAVID SAGE, A NATIVE
OF WALES, BORN 1639, AND ONE OF THE
FIRST SETTLERS OF MIDDLETOWN, CONN.
1652, CAREFULLY PREPARED AND REVISED
BY THE AUTHOR FROM AUTHENTIC RE-
CORDS. 8vo, pp. 82. PELTON & KING,
Printers, Middletown, Conn., 1878.**

There is not much attempt at biography in this anonymous genealogical sketch of the Sage family. In his introduction, however, the author seems to have satisfied himself of several important starting points, and concludes that ninety-four out of every one hundred of the name of Sage, now living in the United States, are the descendants of David Sage, whose name appears in the

records of the Congregational church in Cornwall, Conn., from its first organization in 1715.

Beyond this, he has satisfied himself that the Sages are of Welsh origin, as is the uniform tradition of the family. David Sage was born in 1639 and died in 1703. The origin of the family is taken to be Scandinavian, and the name Saga. A coat of arms precedes the sketch. It was granted by William the Conqueror to one of his followers, whose name appears on the Battle Roll of 1066. The motto is *Non Sibi*.

**THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF
HIGHLAND, IN THE STATE OF OHIO, FROM
ITS FIRST CREATION AND ORGANIZATION TO
JULY 4, 1876, TOGETHER WITH THE PRO-
CEDINGS OF THE ASSEMBLED PEOPLE WHO
MET ON THAT DAY AT HILLSBORO, THE
COUNTY SEAT, TO CELEBRATE THE CEN-
TENNIAL BIRTHDAY OF THE NATION; AND
ALSO A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY TO
DECEMBER 31, 1847, by JAMES H. THOMP-
SON, of Hillsboro, Ohio. 8vo, pp. 132.
HILLSBORO GAZETTE JOB ROOM, 1878.**

This elaborate title sufficiently indicates the purpose of this pamphlet, another of the valuable records invited by the proclamation of President Grant to the citizens of all of our towns to recite their history. Ohio is an old territory, but not yet an ancient State, although she is second to none in enterprise and intelligence, thanks to the far-seeing sagacity of those who laid down her political landmarks. The county of Highland was organized in 1805; its history is therefore of recent achievement. It bore an honorable part in the war of 1812, the Mexican war and the recent civil contest.

**AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND MEMORIALS
OF ICHABOD WASHBURN, SHOWING HOW A
GREAT BUSINESS WAS DEVELOPED AND
LARGE WEALTH ACQUIRED FOR THE USES
OF BENEVOLENCE, by Rev. HENRY T.
CHEEVER. 16mo, pp. 222. D. LATHROP &
Co., Boston, [1878].**

All veracious accounts of the struggles and triumphs of those who are called successful men have a certain interest; they are doubly valuable when the results of their plans and combinations are devoted to the benefit of their fellows.

Ichabod Washburn, who here relates his own experience, was born in Kingston, Mass., in

1798, being of mixed Puritan and Huguenot extraction, a promising combination of those elements which "make up a man." His training was in the school of adversity, the blacksmith's sledge-hammer being his first tool. After conscientious service as journeyman, he began business for himself in a small way in a machine shop at Worcester. For some years he was associated with a partner; but in 1831 began the manufacture of iron-wire on his own account. In 1830 he was induced by Mr. Chickering, the father of American pianoforte industry, to undertake the manufacture of steel springs for his instruments, a business which had been in English hands for eighty years. In this manufacture Mr. Washburn acquired a large fortune, and at his death, in 1868, left an estate of \$424,000, of which he bequeathed to charitable and religious institutes over \$400,000.

This volume has been prepared to preserve and illustrate the record of his useful life.

THE DESCENDANTS OF NATHANIEL MOWRY OF RHODE ISLAND. By WILLIAM A. MOWRY. 8vo, pp. 343. SIDNEY S. RIDER. Providence, 1875.

A FAMILY HISTORY—RICHARD MOWRY OF UXBURGE, MASS. : HIS ANCESTORS AND DESCENDANTS. By WILLIAM A. MOWRY, A. M. 8vo, pp. 197. SIDNEY S. RIDER. Providence, 1875.

In these handsomely-printed and well-illustrated volumes an account is given of the descendants of Nathaniel Mowry, born 1644, and of Johanna, his wife, daughter of Edward Innman.

The Mowry family is one of the earliest in Northern Rhode Island, and throughout its history, though without remarkable prominence, has borne its part with honor.

The cuts illustrating the books are extremely interesting. They represent the house of Captain Joseph Mowry, built at Smithfield, R. I., in 1708, one of the oldest now standing in the State, and even yet in good condition; the house of Colonel Elisha Mowry, also at Smithfield, built in 1759, and still an excellent one. As an instance of the longevity of Rhode Island families, it is recorded that though one hundred years old it has been occupied only by three families, the father, son and grandson in lineal descent; the house of Richard Mowry, at Uxbridge, Mass., built in 1778, is also standing and in perfect order.

Returning to the original Mowry, Nathaniel, we find that the book records the names of 1575

of his descendants, of whom 1075 of the name of Mowry. In the Family History we find several other pictures of interest, and some photographic portraits of men of the name.

JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY: A MEMOIR, by OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. 16mo, pp. 278. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO., the Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1879.

In this admirably edited volume, with its sectional headings carefully dated and a running marginal index of subjects, we rejoice to find a return to the good old fashion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when books were not so many, perhaps, as in our day, but were more carefully studied and prepared.

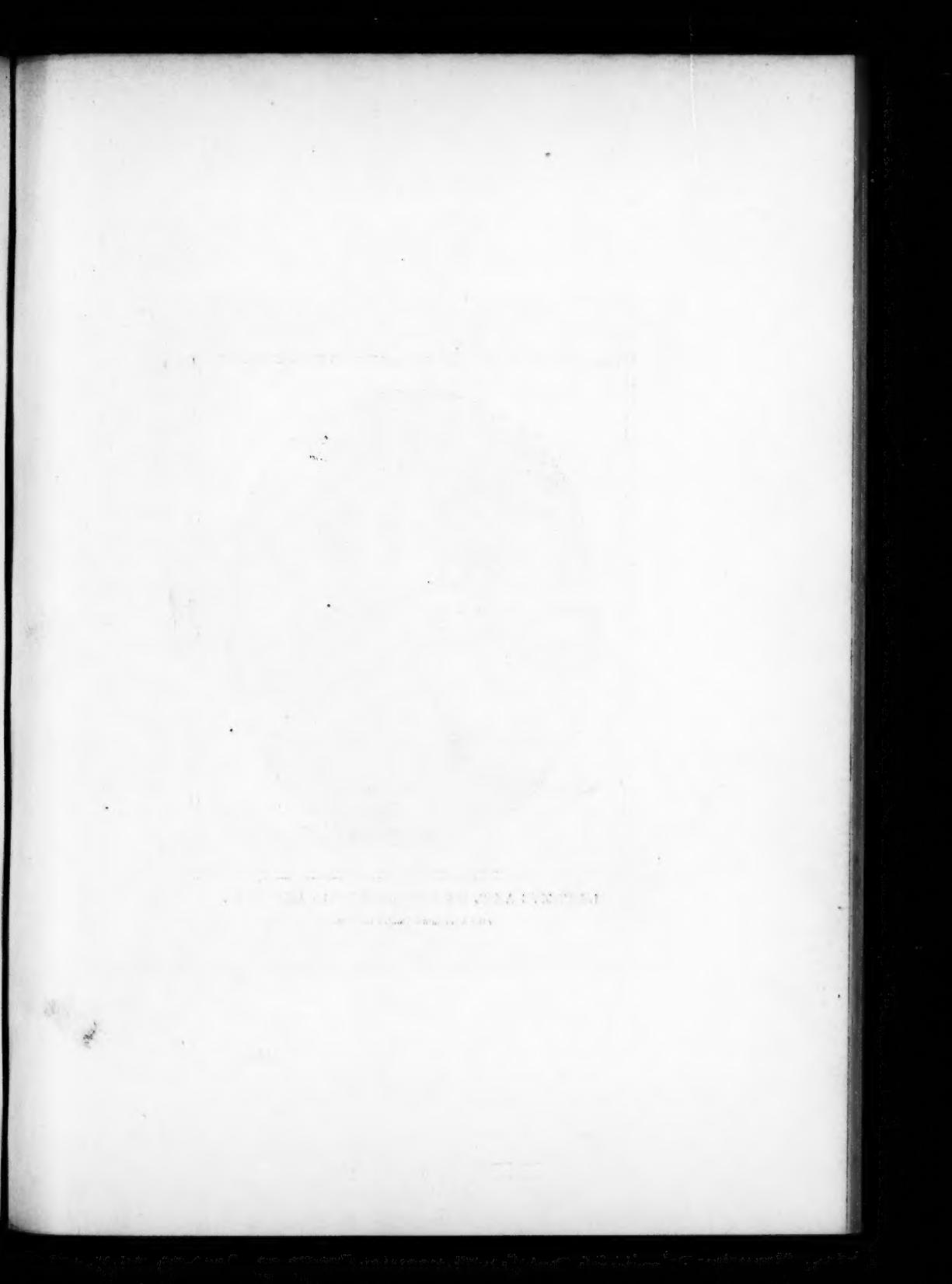
This is, in truth, a memoir, and by a master hand. We are led gradually, not harshly, yet not with dilatory step, through the early years of the precocious youth who at thirteen was admitted to Harvard College, to which, at that tender age, he brought the reputation of a "wonderful linguist," as well as a personal beauty, which so increased that in early manhood he was as ideally handsome as even Shelley, who was his favorite poet. Yet with all his beauty and fascination of manner he was manly and unconscious.

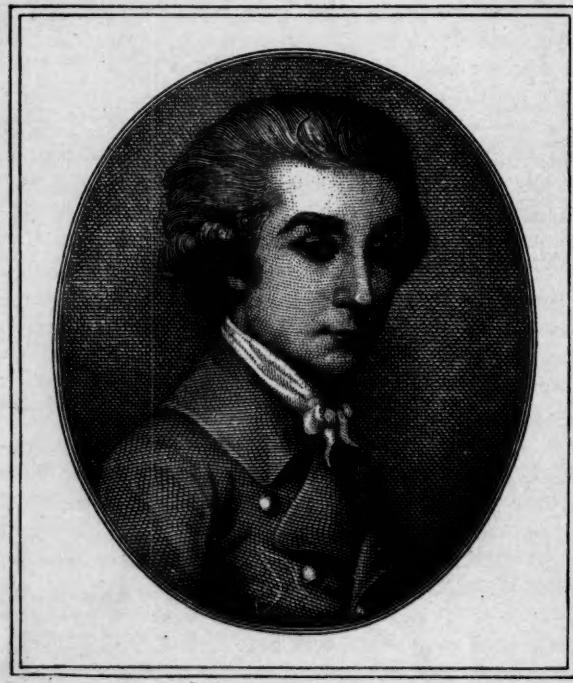
It is not necessary to dwell upon his literary career, which has received ample notice in these pages [I. 454, 458, 696, 772], nor yet to open again the vexed controversy upon his recall, but it is well to put on record the opinion of Dr. Holmes that "the ostensible grounds on which Mr. Motley was recalled are plainly insufficient to account for the action of the Government."

An appendix contains some tributes paid to his memory, including the poems of W. W. Story and William Cullen Bryant, the latter a sonnet in stately Shakesperian style, which embalms and perpetuates his fame.

NOTICE.

WASHINGTON PORTRAITS.—We are requested to announce that Messrs. Charles Henry Hart & William A. Baker, of Philadelphia, are preparing a "Descriptive List of all the Engraved Portraits of Washington, with Notes and Observations on the Original Pictures," and desire persons having collections to communicate directly with them.—EDITOR.





LE COMTE AXEL DE FERSEN, AT THE AGE OF 28.

After a miniature painted at Paris.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Vol. III

MAY 1879

No. 5

THE PRISONERS OF MATAMOROS

A REMINISCENCE OF THE REVOLUTION OF TEXAS

INCIDENTS connected with the long uncertainate of certain prisoners of war in Matamoros, during the spring and summer of 1836, form an episode in the epic of the Texas revolution which, though not historically important, is interesting from the showing it gives of the better, as well as the worse side of the Mexican character. The events which led to the capture of those men have never been very correctly related, and merit narration from their singularity rather than the examples of wisdom they contain.

During the winter of that year, when the invasion of Texas by Santa Ana was impending, there seemed, as I observed in a former article [Magazine of American History, II, 1], little less than anarchy left to withstand it. There were seven hundred volunteers, more or less, for the number was continually fluctuating, stationed at San Antonio, and in Goliad and its neighborhood, but mostly in the latter section. Sam Houston had been commissioned by the Provisional Government a Major-General of regular troops, not yet raised, with the right to command all volunteers who might enter the service of Texas; but the split of that government into a dozen led to conflicting measures which neutralized his authority, and he was unable to effect a concentration of the scattered forces under his command. The garrisons of San Antonio and Goliad acted without concert, the former, which had part of it split off from the former, entering upon the service of the Nucas, an Irish village, and the most western of the foreign settlements in Texas. This force was commanded by Colonel Frank W. Johnson and Colonel Don Diego Grant, both of whom had performed gallant service in the taking